

The University of Chicago
Libraries





THE AUGUSTINIANS

THE AUGUSTINIANS

FROM ST. AUGUSTINE TO THE
UNION, 1256

By

THE VERY REV. E. A. FORAN, O.S.A.

TOGETHER WITH THE LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE
BY HIS CONTEMPORARY SAINT POSSIDIUS,
NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

LONDON

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE LTD

PUBLISHERS TO THE HOLY SEE

BX 2906

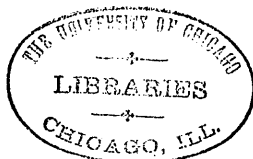
.F 68

NIHIL OBSTAT:
JOHANNES STOKES, O.S.A.

NIHIL OBSTAT:
ERNESTUS MESSENGER, PH.D.,
Censor deputatus.

IMPRIMATUR:
LEONELLUS CAN. EVANS,
Vicarius generalis.

WESTMONASTERII,
die 11a Martii 1938.



Div.

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
FOR
BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE LTD
1938

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| FOREWORD | vii |
| LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE BY ST. POSSIDIUS | ix |
| THE AUGUSTINIANS—FROM ST. AUGUSTINE TO THE UNION, 1256 | |
| CHAPTER | |
| I. THE BEGINNING | 39 |
| II. AUGUSTINE'S EARLY ASSOCIATES | 64 |
| III. DESTRUCTION OF THE AFRICAN MONASTERIES | 90 |
| IV. DIFFUSION OF THE ORDER IN EUROPE | 101 |
| V. SUBSEQUENT CENTURIES | 125 |
| VI. AUGUSTINIAN HOUSES BEFORE AND AT THE ' UNION ' | 141 |
| VII. AUGUSTINIAN SAINTS AND BEATI BEFORE THE ' UNION ' | 165 |
| VIII. THE HABIT AND RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE | 169 |
| INDEX | 177 |

FOREWORD

THERE was no one more competent than Possidius to tell the life-story of Augustine. The close intimacy of forty years made him conversant with those simple domestic incidents which lend such charm to his work. Assuming that we have read the *Confessions*, he leaves us with our impressions of the early penitence, and of the spiritual friendships which Augustine formed, when, as a Christian, he retraced his steps to Africa ; and he goes on to tell us of his activities in the priesthood and the episcopacy. With the admiration and the enthusiasm of a child for a father, Possidius lauds the victories won over the adversaries of the Faith, and dwells with characteristic beauty of thought on the glory with which the African Church was made to shine before the eyes of Christendom. Writing with a candour and simplicity that must appeal to his readers, he betrays no ambition to draw any of the lustre of his tribute upon himself, but to stand in the shadow of his great master.

It may surprise us that Possidius does not once refer to the tragic struggle going on around him, nor to the complex problems that were engaging the minds of other men, during his sad sojourn at Carthage. He could not close his eyes to the fact that the African Church was sinking into the grave of the Empire. It is, perhaps, in his silence that we find the most touching evidence of his trust in Providence. The future of Augustine's Church rested with the Saviour whose hands held the destinies of men and things.

That the Church would rise again he had no doubt : another generation would see the restoration of its desecrated altars.

After smoothing the white hairs of the dying Saint, and after attending the last sad obsequies at Hippo, Possidius fled to Carthage, where he found a despairing people watching

the red glare upon the horizon and its ominous approach to the last stronghold of Latin power. Here, indifferent to the emotions that must have rent his heart, he continued 'the life' begun at Hippo, and made the index of the numerous writings of Augustine, trusting that these precious tomes, saved through his industry for the scholars of the years to come, would win the honour of posterity for the memory of the great writer. Had the inspiration which guided his hand at the time enabled him to look beyond the years, and to see Augustine honoured as a Saint of the Universal Church, and acclaimed as the 'Doctor of her Doctors,' Possidius would have closed his pages with a tear of joy and thankfulness to God.

THE
LIFE OF SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,
BISHOP OF HIPPO

By
ST. POSSIDIUS, BISHOP OF CALAMA

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN TEXT

PREFACE

GOD, the Creator and Ruler of all things enlightening me, I call to mind my holy purpose, wherein I determined to serve the Divine Omnipotent Trinity through the grace of the Saviour and my faith ; heretofore it was in the life of the laymen, now it is in the office of the bishops that I am striving, with the gift of preaching and the ability bestowed upon me, to help in the progress of the true, holy, Catholic Church of Christ the Lord ; and regarding the life and work of the most worthy priest Augustine, predestined and given to us in this time, I cannot remain silent on what I have seen in him, and have heard of him.

As I observe and read, before now most zealous men of our Holy Mother the Church, who, under the influence of the Divine Spirit and using their own speech and style, as when teaching or writing on matters for instruction, have brought before the eyes and to the hearing of all willing to give attention, the life-histories of many men who, in the midst of human affairs, merited through the Lord's free grace to persevere worthy to the end. Therefore, I, the least of all in endowments, in that pure faith in which the Lord of lords is served and honoured by all the righteous and faithful, will endeavour here to give an account of the birth, the career, and happy end, together with what I have learned and discovered through himself whilst associated with him in charity for so many years, as God had willed it.¹

But I must beseech the Divine Majesty that, whilst I undertake and endeavour to bring this work to a successful

¹ There are several manuscripts of Possidius' *Life of St. Augustine*, five of which are in the National Library of Paris, dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, and two in the Vatican Library, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These are the most important amongst the manuscripts that are said to exist. They vary in 'title' and the wording of the text, but are in uniformity with regard to the general sense of the Possidian work.

ending, I may not offend against the truth of the Father of Light, or deceive in any way the charity of the good children of the Church.

I shall not touch upon or mention those things which the Blessed Augustine has set down concerning himself in his *Confessions*, or upon those things which happened before his reception of God's grace, or afterwards. This he desired to do himself, lest, as the Apostle hath said, anyone should think of him 'or account of him above that which he seeth him to be or heareth from him.'¹

Following his practice of holy humility, and without dissimulation, Augustine attributed all praise for his deliverance and for favours received, not to any merit of his own, but to his Divine Lord. How earnestly did he beg our fraternal prayers that the desires of his soul might be granted him ! But as the angelic words have it : ' It is good to hide the secret of a king, but honourable to reveal and confess the works of the Lord.'²

¹ 2 Cor. xii, 6.

² Tob. xii, 7.

CHAPTER I

IN the town of Tagasta, in the curial division of the African Province, Augustine was born of honest and Christian parents.¹

Brought up under their diligent care, he was educated in secular knowledge and trained in the academic branches known as 'the liberal arts.' Then he taught grammar in his native town and afterwards rhetoric at the capital, Carthage. Some time later we find him beyond the sea in the city of Rome, and then at Milan, where the Emperor Valentine, the younger, had established his court. In the latter city the priest Ambrose, the elected of God, and the most illustrious amongst men of great name, ministered in the episcopacy. Standing amongst the people in the church, Augustine often listened, attentive and absorbed, to the sermons and disputations of this preacher of the Word of God.

Whilst a youth at Carthage he had been drawn into the heresy of the Manichæans, hence he was deeply interested, and hoped that amongst other matters he might hear something in favour of, or against, that heresy. And through the clemency of God, his Deliverer, touching the heart of the priest, it happened that his discourse turned upon this heresy; and some questions of the laws bearing upon that error were solved. It was the beginning of Augustine's enlightenment; and little by little, through the Divine pity, all thought of persevering in that heresy was driven from his mind; and becoming forthwith convinced of the Catholic faith, an ardent desire to embrace the Catholic religion was enkindled within him. When the days of the holy Pasch came about he received the waters of salvation. And thus it came to pass, through the dispensation of Divine

¹ Patricius, Augustine's father, died a Christian.

Providence, that Augustine received from the holy Bishop Ambrose the saving doctrine of the Catholic Church, and its Divine mysteries.

CHAPTER II

AFTER this, it was not long till Augustine relinquished all those ambitions to which he had clung with such ardent affection of heart in the world. He no longer desired either wife or child, or riches or public honours. He elected to serve God amongst his own and to be in, and to be of, that little fold to which the Lord referred when He said : ' Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom. Sell what you possess and give alms. Make yourselves purses that wax not old, a treasure in heaven which faileth not '¹ ; and further still his desire was to conform his life in such wise as the Lord had counselled when He said : ' Go and sell what thou hast and give to the poor, and come and follow me.'²

His whole longing now was to establish his faith upon secure foundations, not upon wood, or straw, or chaff, but upon gold, and silver, and precious stones.

At this time he was in his thirtieth year. His mother, still surviving and closely attached to him, rejoiced more at his decided intention to devote himself to the service of God than if he had promised her grandchildren. His father had died before this.

He gave up his pupils to whom he had been teaching rhetoric, bidding them seek another master, for now he had resolved to serve God alone.

CHAPTER III

AFTER his reception of the sacramental graces, he thought it pleasing to return to Africa and to his own farm and home, in company with some of his countrymen and friends who were in like manner intent upon serving God. On arriving

¹ Luke xii, 2.

² Matt. xix, 21.

at Tagasta and settling down with these companions he cast off all worldly care. He persevered there for nearly three years, living for God in fasting, prayer, and good works, and meditating day and night on the laws of the Lord. And what God revealed to him during his contemplation and prayer he imparted to others, to those who were with him by discourses, and to those who were absent by writings.

At this time it happened providentially that a certain man, a good and God-fearing Christian, who was an 'agent of public affairs' at Hippo-Regis, having heard of Augustine's fame and learning, conceived a great desire to see him, promising himself that if he were privileged to hear the word of God from his lips, he would learn to despise all worldly desires and pleasures. When this was confidentially reported to Augustine, in his zeal to save a soul from the dangers of eternal death, and of his own accord, he went with haste to the memorable city. Seeing the man, he gave him many instructions and exhortations, and he said to him that as God had given to him so generously he should render to God what he had vowed to Him. But during his visit the man did not fulfil his vows, though day after day he was promising to do so. However, Augustine's effort could not have been altogether without benefit, inasmuch as such a soul 'was a vessel sanctified unto honour, and profitable to the Lord, and prepared unto every good work.'¹

In all things the Divine Providence rules.

CHAPTER IV

THE holy Valerius, who as Bishop governed the Catholic Church of Hippo at that time, was preaching to the people of God and was exhorting them to provide a candidate for ordination to the priesthood. Ecclesiastical duty demanded it. Already the people had heard of Augustine's fame and learning, and now it chanced that he was standing in their midst unconcerned and quite unconscious of what was going to happen.

¹ 2 Tim. ii, 21.

He wished to remain always in the lay state, and, as he tells us, he was careful to withhold his presence from the churches that needed bishops. And now the people, finding him amongst them, laid hands upon him, and leading him to the Bishop, according to their custom, presented him as a candidate for ordination. But whilst with great clamour and with common assent they desired that this should be done and accomplished, Augustine gave free vent to his tears.

Yet, as he relates himself, there were some persons present there who attributed his tears to wounded pride, and offered their sympathy by saying that the position of the priesthood was one of the highest dignity, and little inferior to the episcopacy. But at that time the man of God, with greater comprehension, was troubled and foresaw how many and how great were the perils which both then and in the future would overwhelm his life if the charge of the affairs of the Church or its government should be thrust upon him, and hence he wept.

And, as the people desired it, so was it accomplished.

CHAPTER V

SOON after he had become a priest he established a monastery within the precincts of the Church, and with the servants of God began to live according to the manner and rule instituted by the holy Apostles. And in that society no one in particular possessed anything of his own. All things were held in common and were distributed to each according to his needs. He had been already living according to this rule since his return to his own land from beyond the seas.

St. Valerius, who had ordained Augustine, was a holy and God-fearing man, and rejoicing he gave thanks to God that his prayers had been heard ; and, as he frequently related, a man had been providentially given him who, by his salutary teaching, would raise up the Church of the Lord. Here it may be said that Valerius, being a Greek by birth, had such a slight knowledge of the Latin tongue and literature that it proved to be of little use to him. Hence he

gave to this priest the faculty to preach before him, and to hold public discussions in the church. This was contrary to the usages of the African Church, and soon attracted the attention of other bishops, who found fault with it. But this venerable and prudent man, knowing it to be a custom in Eastern churches, and consulting the needs of his people, took no notice of the remarks of those inclined to criticise. It was his belief that a priest could do for his bishop that which could be accomplished by the bishop himself.

Then, as a lamp enkindled and burning is raised upon the candelabrum, his light illumined all who were in the house. The report of what was being done at Hippo spread and reached afar, and it was taken as a good precedent and was followed by other bishops; so that a great many priests began to preach the word of God to the people in the presence of their bishops.

CHAPTER VI

MEANWHILE the pest of Manichæism had crept into the town of Hippo. A great number of the citizens and strangers had been deceived and seduced by a priest addicted to this heresy named Fortunatus, who was tarrying and preaching in the town. Then the people of Hippo and the Christian strangers, both Catholic and Donatist, approached the priest Augustine and besought him to meet this preacher of the Manichæans and to draw him into controversy on the laws. Though the heretic was reputed to be a very learned man, this Augustine in no wise refused, 'being ready always to satisfy everyone that asketh for a reason of that faith and hope that is towards God,'¹ 'and being able to exhort in sound doctrine and to convince the gainsayers.'²

It had to be ascertained if Fortunatus would agree, so the people went off immediately conveying the challenge to him and importuning him in such manner that he could not shirk the controversy. Having known Augustine at Carthage, when he himself had succumbed to the same errors, he entertained some anxiety in meeting him. But being greatly

¹ 1 Pet. iii, 15.

² Titus i, 9.

urged by the insistence of his own followers, and ashamed of retreat, he agreed to come before the public and to enter into the contest of the debate. The time and place having been mutually agreed upon, they met. In the crowd that assembled there were interested and curious people, and there were notaries with tablets ready. The dispute commenced one day and ended the next, and the Manichæan, according to the report of the proceedings, was neither able to refute the Catholic arguments, nor maintain that the Manichæan sect had any foundation in truth.

Failing in his arguments and realising that he could no longer reply, he ultimately put forward the excuse that he wished to consult his own colleagues, and, if perchance they could not satisfy him, he would consult the welfare of his own soul ; and all those to whom he had appeared great and learned were now convinced that he had accomplished nothing in defence of his sect. Covered with confusion because of his failure, he left Hippo immediately and never returned.

Then, through the venerable man of God, the hearts of all who were present, and of all the absent who had learned of what had been done, were purged of their error, and the true Catholic religion became firmly established again.

CHAPTER VII

IN the intimate circles of his monastery, and in the public church, Augustine continued to teach and to preach the word of salvation, and to labour with most earnest zeal against the African heretics, the Donatists, the Manichæans, and also against the Pagans. His finished books and extemporaneous sermons, which were received with exceeding joy and praise by the Christians, were brought, where possible, to those who were criticising as well as abusive. Long afflicted and oppressed by ever-reviving sects, and especially by the Donatists, who were rebaptising a very great multitude of Africans, the Church again began, with God's help, to rise up and to lift her head.

And his books and treatises, which were composed and written under the stimulus of God's grace, and which were so full of instruction based upon reason and upon the authority of the sacred scriptures, were eagerly sought for by the heretics themselves as well as by Catholics, and were read with keen attention. And there were people who, where it was possible, even employed notaries that they might write down what they heard him speak.¹ And thus through the whole body of Africa the sublime doctrine and the sweet savour of Christ were diffused and felt. And this being reported beyond the seas, the Church there rejoiced exceedingly. 'If one member suffer anything, all the members suffer with it,' thus also 'if one member glory, all the members rejoice with it.'²

CHAPTER VIII

THE holy Valerius, now grown old, rejoiced indeed that God had favoured him so much, but in a human way he became anxious lest Augustine might be sought for the episcopacy by some church, and be taken from him. And because this might happen, as the Bishop knew so well, he made provision to send him to a place so secret and remote that he could not be easily found by those who sought him. Yet the venerable man was still anxious, and considering his corporal infirmity and age, he secretly dispatched letters to the Primate of the Episcopacy at Carthage, beseeching him to allow Augustine to be ordained Bishop of the Church of Hippo, in which he would serve as his Coadjutor, and not succeed to his office; and as his reason for this request he alleged his burden of years and failing health. And what he desired and sought for so earnestly was granted him by letter.

Later on Megalius, Bishop of Calama and Primate of Numidia, came by invitation to the Church of Hippo; other prelates being present, too, by chance. Valerius took advantage of the occasion to declare his intentions in the

¹ Stenographers were universally employed at that period.

² 1 Cor. xii, 26.

presence of all the clergy and the whole congregation. Hearing his words, all gave loud and joyful expression to their assent, but the priest (Augustine) was astounded, and refused his consent on the plea that it was contrary to the usages of the Church for anyone to receive the office of the episcopacy whilst the bishop lived. But all sought to persuade him that there was proof that this had been done before, not only beyond the seas but also in the African Church.

Yielding to entreaty and constraint, he reluctantly gave his consent. He received consecration and took upon himself the responsibility of the episcopacy. Afterwards he felt convinced that his consecration should not have taken place whilst the Bishop lived ; and he wrote and explained that he did not know of the prohibition of the general Council (Nicea). This he learned afterwards ; and what he regretted was desired by others. Hence he did not rest until an assembly of the bishops decided that the statute should be brought to the knowledge of all priests, of those ordained, and of those who become candidates for ordination.¹

CHAPTER IX

AND it so happened that, as a bishop with authority to preach, he began with greater ardour and earnestness to explain the word of eternal salvation, and to defend the Church of God, now growing so rapidly and strongly ; and this not only in his own locality but also in other places to which he was called. At all times he was ready to proclaim the reasons for the Faith and Hope that is in God. And the Donatists residing at Hippo and its neighbourhood carried his statements to their bishops, who, having heard what things he said, spoke with bitterness regarding them, and denouncing them as false brought their replies to Augustine, and he, after studying them, proceeded very cautiously and gently, and without a hint that they were either unable or unwilling to defend their tenets, to show that what the

¹ Council of Carthage, 397.

true Church of God held and taught should be manifestly clear to all. 'With fear and trembling work out your salvation'¹, as it is written. For many days and nights he occupied himself with these matters. He sent letters privately to their bishops, and he also wrote to eminent lay persons, exposing their errors, and giving his reasons, with admonitions and exhortations, why they should abandon their depravity ; and if they did not correct their views, he was ready to meet them in public controversy.

But they, for the sake of contention, refused even to reply, and instead began with furious rage to denounce Augustine as a seducer of souls. In private and public they proclaimed that the wolf should be slain in defence of the fold ; and, without fear of God or shame before men, they declared that God would undoubtedly pardon any sin that might be incurred by those who would undertake and carry out this deed. Then Augustine took steps to make it publicly known that they dared not meet him in discussion because they lacked trust in their cause.

CHAPTER X

Now these Donatists had attached to most of their churches crowds of men unspeakably vile and depraved who were called 'circumcellions,' and who were numerous in many places in Africa. Inspired by evil teachers, they were brutal, violent, and overbearing. They masqueraded as celibates, rendered obedience to no authority, not even to their own leaders, and had no consideration for justice, or the rights of other men. They were armed with various kinds of weapons, and went through the country and towns, drinking to excess and doing great damage, not fearing even to shed blood.

And whilst the Word of God was being preached, if any appeal for peace were made to those who hated peace the speaker would be violently assailed. Nevertheless, as the truth was being upheld in contrast with the dogmas of violence, those who could do so openly separated from them,

¹ Phil. ii, 12.

or withdrew secretly with as many as they could induce to join them, and they came to seek the peace and unity of the Church.

Then, seeing their coherents diminish more and more, and envious at the increase in the Church, the heretics became violently incensed, and in their rage gathered together to carry on an intolerable persecution against the unity of the Church. By day and by night attacks were made upon Catholic priests and their assistants. They were robbed of their goods ; they were beaten till their limbs were broken ; lime mixed with vinegar was thrown into their eyes ; while some were cruelly done to death ; with the result that these atrocities, committed in their name, brought the Donatists into disrepute and odium, even with their own followers.

CHAPTER XI

As the Divine teaching progressed, Augustine began to ordain as clerics for the Church of Hippo some of those servants of God who had been with him, and under him, in his monastery. Then the truth of the Catholic Church began to shine forth and to be more clearly understood through the daily preaching of those holy servants of God, who had been living under the vows of continency and humble poverty ; and an earnest appeal was heard from the churches asking for bishops and clerics from that monastery which the venerable man had founded, and brought to flourish. Then the peace and unity of the Church which had begun anew, did long continue.

The Blessed Augustine, at the request of the people, gave to various churches, and some of these were of great importance, about ten holy, venerable, continent, and learned men, whom I myself have known. Going forth with the resolve of the saints, these men, whilst they laboured for the welfare of the churches, established new monasteries round them. Encouraging arduous study, based upon the Word of God, they prepared members of their brotherhood for the priesthood of other churches ; and then, through

many and in divers ways were the saving doctrines of faith, hope, and charity diffused, and not only through parts of Africa, but also beyond the Seas.

And as Augustine published books and sermons which were now translated into Greek, the people through this one man, and by him, had, with God's aid, an opportunity of learning many things.

And, as it is written, 'sinners seeing, grew angry and gnashed their teeth, but were silent'; and the servants of God 'amongst those who hated peace were the peace makers,' and when they spoke they were assailed.¹

CHAPTER XII

SOMETIMES the armed circumcellions who infested the roads lay in wait to assail the servant of God, Augustine, when called forth to visit, exhort, and instruct the Catholic congregations in other places, as was frequently the custom. And it happened on one occasion that these vagrants attempted to capture him but failed. The leader of his servants having missed his way, led him by a different route to his destination. This was indeed providential. Afterwards, when he learned how he had been saved from falling into vile hands, he gave thanks to God his Deliverer, because these men spared neither layman nor cleric, as public records witness.

And in these circumstances we must not pass in silence what Augustine achieved through his labours for the glory of God, and through his zeal for His Church, in opposing the Donatists who were upholding their doctrine of re-baptism. It happened on one occasion when he visited one of the clerics of his Monastery, who had been appointed to the charge of the diocese and church of Calama, and had pleaded for the peace of the Church and preached against this heresy, he and those accompanying him were ambushed while on their homeward journey. Their animals and belongings were taken from them, and they were left

¹ Ps. cxix.

severely wounded and injured. After such an occurrence, Augustine could not remain silent. He maintained the rights of the Church in law, lest the progress of the peace of the Church should be further impeded. Hence Crispinus, the clever but notorious Bishop of the Donatists in Calama and its neighbourhood, was summoned, and, according to the laws against heretics, was fined a large sum of money. Crispinus, protesting against this fine, denied before the Pro-Consul that he was a heretic ; and the defender of the Church having left Calama it became necessary for another Catholic bishop to confront him and prove that he was what he denied himself to be ; because if he had succeeded in his deception it might be thought by the simple people that the heretic was a Catholic bishop, and by his denial and through his deceit the weak might be scandalised.

Then, at the instance of Augustine of holy memory, the two Bishops of Calama came together in controversy and for the third time they were in conflict defending their varying doctrines, whilst a great multitude of Christian people at Carthage, and throughout Africa, awaited the result.

Eventually Crispinus was pronounced a heretic by the Pro-Consul, and the sentence was upheld. But the Catholic bishop made intercession for Crispinus with the judges, asking that the fine of so much money should not be enforced, and for his benefit this was conceded. Yet the ungrateful man appealed to the most pious prince, the Emperor, but he gave attention to the report, and the answer was in the form of a precept forbidding the toleration of the Donatist heretics in any place and enforcing the laws already enacted against them. In consideration of this reply, the judges and officers of the Court sentenced Crispinus to pay a fine of ten 'liberas' of gold, which was instantly demanded. But again the Catholic bishops, and particularly Augustine of holy memory, entreating the Lord's assistance, appealed to the Emperor for leniency and the revocation of the sentence, and it was conceded, and through this wise act and holy zeal the Church increased in growth.

CHAPTER XIII

AND for his wonderful efforts for peace in the Church, the Lord gave the palm to Augustine, and for him did He reserve the crown of justice. Christ assisting, the unity of peace and brotherhood in the Church of God daily increased. And this became wonderfully evident after the assembly of all the bishops, Catholic and Donatist, which was convoked at Carthage by an order of the glorious and pious Emperor Honorius, to which assembly he sent the Tribune and Notary Marcellinus to Africa to preside as judge.

In the controversy the heretics failed completely to sustain their doctrine; they were convicted of heresy by the Catholics and by the sentence of the judge they stood convicted. Then they appealed, but the reply of the pious King confirmed their just condemnation as heretics. After this the Catholic bishops communicated more frequently with their clergy and people regarding the maintenance of Catholic peace, and the many persecutions through which people had suffered the amputation of their limbs, and even death, were checked. And, as I have said before, this good work was begun and brought to success through that holy man with whom our fellow bishops co-operated, and were greatly pleased.

CHAPTER XIV

AND now, after this Council assembled with the Donatists, there were some who did not hesitate to say that opportunity had not been allowed their bishops to make their cause heard, or to say all that they desired on their part; and since the judge was of the Catholic communion he showed favour to his Church. Though already convicted and defeated, they put forward this plea; although, truly, before the conference the same heretics knew that he was of the Catholic communion, and yet they appeared at that

assembly and took part in the proceedings. Had they felt any suspicions then, they could have declined to attend the controversy.

But here Almighty God intervened with His Divine aid, for while Augustine, of venerable memory, was staying at Mauritania of Cæsarea he was advised by Apostolic letters to convoke a Council of his brother bishops in order to find some remedy for other necessities of the Church. On this occasion it happened that Emeritus, whom the Donatist bishops chose as their representative and spokesman, presented himself. In the public church and in the presence of the people of different sects, Augustine himself entered into discussion with him and contended with him on their religious differences. And it could not be said that he was not allowed to carry on the discussion with freedom, or that in his own city, and in the presence of his own followers, he was denied the liberty to defend his own doctrines. Nevertheless he declined to continue the discussion though encouraged and appealed to by his own people, even by his parents, who protested that they would return to his sect, even at the risk of losing their temporal goods and patrimonies, if he would achieve victory over the Catholics by his arguments. But he had no longer any wish to continue the debate. In conclusion he said: 'Already the report of what occurred amongst the bishops at Carthage shows whether we were victors or vanquished.'

When a notary from another part endeavoured to persuade him that he should have replied further to his opponent, Emeritus was silent. Then, his failure becoming publicly known, the whole Church of God benefited and grew in strength.

Should anyone desire to come to a full knowledge of what Augustine, of blessed memory, achieved, and of the zeal with which he devoted himself to the affairs of the Church, he need only examine the reports of the Councils. Therein he will learn the results of the controversy when he challenged that learned, notable, and eloquent man, Emeritus, whom he encouraged to defend his sect, even when he knew that he had vanquished him.

CHAPTER XV

I REMEMBER an incident, and not I alone, but also the brethren and servants who dwelt with us in the Church of Hippo. When we were together at table he said to us : ' Did you notice how the beginning and ending of my sermon to-day in the church worked out contrary to my usual custom, and how I left unexplained the subject upon which I had proposed to speak ? ' We replied, saying that we noticed this and wondered. ' I believe,' he said, ' that there chanced to be amongst the people some erring soul whom the Lord, in whose hands we are, even our speech, through such an inadvertence and mistake, wished to enlighten and to save ; for when I tried to deal with the subject proposed, by a digression I left it in suspense and concluded my discourse with arguments against the errors of the Manichæans, saying nothing whatever about the matter upon which I had intended to speak.'

Then a day or two afterwards, if I remember rightly, a merchant named Firmus came to the monastery and cast himself upon his knees at the feet of Augustine. In the presence of us all he shed tears, praying that the priest might intercede with the Lord and His Saints for one who was in sin. He confessed that he was a Manichæan, and that he had lived many years as a follower of the sect, and had contributed much money to those who claimed to be of ' the elect.' But whilst he was in the church listening to the sermon, through God's mercy he became enlightened, and he was now convinced of the Catholic Faith.

And the venerable Augustine himself, and we who were present, made diligent enquiry as to what it was particularly in the discourse that impressed him, and whilst trying to recall the various passages we were in admiration of the profound plans of God for the salvation of souls, and we blessed and glorified His Holy Name. According to His Will, and as He wills, Almighty God may save a soul, and His ways may be known or unknown to us.

Having given up his occupation as a merchant on that day,

he adopted the profession of the Servants of God and persevered as a member of the Church. Then, seeking to know the Will of God, he felt called to the priesthood, and took upon himself the holy office in another district, and there he adhered to his holy profession. Now, perhaps, through the course of human affairs, he is dwelling beyond the sea.

CHAPTER XVI

AT Carthage it happened that a certain Procurator of the Royal house, a man of Catholic faith, Ursus by name, chanced to come upon a meeting of Manichæans who called themselves 'the male and female elect.' He had them arrested and led them to the church that they might be given a formal hearing. Amongst the bishops present on the occasion was Augustine, of holy memory. He knew more than others about this execrable sect, and he exposed the errors and blasphemies in parts of the books which they received from the Manichæans. And he brought them to a confession of the wicked orgies in which the women of these 'elect' were accustomed to take part. Thus these things were revealed before the ecclesiastical court. Hence the pastors had to apply the greatest zeal in their defence of the fold of the Lord against fanatics, as well as robbers, and in watching over its spiritual growth.

Augustine opened a controversy with a certain Felix, one of the Manichæans, who proclaimed himself as one of 'the elect.' It took place in the public church of Hippo with notaries present amongst the people to make a record of the arguments of both parties, but the Manichæan, after the second and third encounter, humbled in his pride, admitted the errors of his sect, and was converted to our Faith, and to our Church, as can be seen from the records of the incident.

CHAPTER XVII

MEANWHILE Augustine was drawn into discussion with a certain Arian officer of the Royal household named Pascentius. This man was a bitter and truculent opponent of the Catholic faith, and made use of his position of authority as a tax collector to be most exacting. He worried and harassed several priests of God who were living inoffensively in their Faith.

Calling together at Carthage some noble and honourable men, Augustine summoned him before them. The heretic refused under any consideration to be present should our master, either before the meeting or afterwards, make use of 'style or tablet'; putting forward as his excuses for this his fear lest the public authority might be brought into contempt by records thus made. Augustine, the bishops and brother priests who were present, submitting to his conditions, commenced the proceedings and carried on the discussion without any written report. But Augustine foresaw, as it afterwards happened, that without a written record, anyone could deny what he had said, or assert things that he had not said.

At the beginning Pascentius and Augustine exchanged opinions. Pascentius stated what he believed, and learned what the others believed. Then by sound reasoning, and by proofs based upon the authority of the scriptures, Augustine demonstrated the solid foundations of our faith, whilst the heretic had only mere assertions to offer, and these were neither in accordance with truth, nor with the testimony of the scriptures. When they had parted, the heretic, sulky and furious, began to spread abroad lying statements regarding his defence of his beliefs and to proclaim himself victor over Augustine, whose praise was on the lips of all.

As such reports could not be kept secret, Augustine felt compelled to write to Pascentius, omitting names because he feared him, but faithfully intimating to him what had taken place at the proceedings, and the arguments made use of by both parties. Should he deny anything stated in his letter,

he could furnish proofs for him, as there were several intelligent and honourable witnesses present. He wrote to him twice, and merely once did Pascentius send a reply, in which he offered insult rather than arguments by which he could support his sect. All this is clearly evident to those who are able and willing to read.

When Maximus, the Bishop of these Arians, who came to Africa with the Goths, appeared at Hippo, he was summoned to a controversy. Many distinguished people desired and even demanded it, and what was asserted on each side was written down so that those who carefully read will, without doubt, decide for themselves whether this heresy, through which the careless and unreasoning are deceived and seduced, should be professed rather than that which the Church, Catholic and Divine, holds and teaches regarding the Blessed Trinity.

When this heretic went from Hippo to Carthage, with much self-flattery he spread abroad a report that he had gained the victory in that contest. He lied, as anyone not ignorant of the Divine Law can reason and judge for himself. Immediately afterwards, from the pen of the venerable Augustine came a recapitulation of the whole conference, giving the objections and the answers, and demonstrating the fact that the heretic was unable to answer his objections. And as a supplement to this paper Augustine added what it was not possible to write down at the time of the conference. The craftiness of the heretic demanded it, and this treatise, being of the greatest length, occupied the whole span of days that remained to him.

CHAPTER XVIII

AGAINST the Pelagians also, a sect new in our times, propagated by subtle disputants who wrote with cunning art on their noxious doctrines, and preached them where possible in public and in the homes, Augustine strove for nearly ten years, writing and publishing books and discoursing frequently upon their errors in the church. And when these

perverts, with clever daring, attempted to gain the sanction of the Apostolic See for their tenets, a Council of the holy African bishops was immediately convoked, and therein it was decided to make appeal to the Holy Father at Rome ; first to the venerable Innocent and then to his successor, the holy Zosimus, praying that the pernicious teachings of this sect should be condemned and anathematised for the sake of the Catholic faith. And these bishops of the Holy See, in their respective times, taking notice of the proposals as formulated by the members of the Church, forwarded apostolic letters to the Africans, and to the Churches of the East and the West, declaring these heretics anathematised and to be avoided.

And this judgement of the Catholic Church of God having been promulgated against them, Honorius, the pious Emperor, on being informed of it, and in agreement with it, declared that they should be regarded as heretics adjudged by the laws. Hence some who had carelessly fallen away returned to the bosom of our Holy Mother the Church, and still they are returning ; and the truth of the Divine Faith shines forth and prevails against the advocates of this detestable error.

And this man of immortal memory, being always vigilant and solicitous for the welfare of the Church, and being a noble member of the body of the Lord, to him the joy was divinely granted in this life to see the fruitful results of his labours, and first of all in the Church of Hippo and its neighbourhood over which he himself presided. Here he saw peace and unity reign.

Then in other places in Africa, as a result of his own efforts or of those of other priests whom he had sent out, he saw the Church of the Lord blossom forth and increase, and in time it was his supreme joy to see Manichæans, Donatists, Pelagians, and Pagans become discontented and gradually come back into the Church of God.

He was favourable to those in the pursuit of study, rejoicing in all good. Tolerant towards the wayward amongst his flock, he was distressed over the iniquities of evil-doers, whether they were within the Church or outside it ; thus rejoicing at the Lord's gains, and grieving over His losses.

So numerous were the works written or dictated by Augustine, including his controversies with heretics in the Church, which were afterwards collected and corrected, and his expositions of the canonical books for the instruction of the holy children of the Church, that scarcely any one person, however studious, can read them or come to a knowledge of them all. And lest it may seem to anyone that in my esteem of Augustine I may be wont to exaggerate, I have decided, with God's help, to give at the end of this little life a list¹ of these books, tracts, and letters. And when this is read, anyone valuing the truth of God above worldly riches can please himself as to which he would choose to study or read.

And with regard to copying these works, application should be made to the library of the Church of Hippo, where more complete writings are surely to be found; and should he be successful in his search, and should he make copies to preserve, he should lend them to others for transcription without reluctance.

CHAPTER XIX

HE quoted the pronouncement of the Apostle, saying :

'Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to be judged before the unjust, and not before the Saints? Know you not that the Saints shall judge this world? And if the world shall be judged by you, are you unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know you not that we shall judge angels? How much more things of this world? If therefore you have judgements of things pertaining to this world, set them to judge who are the most despised in the Church. I speak to your shame. Is it so that there is not among you any one wise man that is able to judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers.'² Therefore, when appealed to, Augustine diligently and piously heard the cases that Christians, or even people of the sects, brought

¹ The list has been omitted in this translation.

² 1 Cor. vi, 1-6.

before him, keeping in view the opinion of a certain man who said that he preferred to hear the cases of strangers than of friends; for in the case of strangers a more equitable judgement could be given, and thereby he might gain a friend, whereas in giving judgement against one who had been a friend, he might risk the loss of a friend.

Sometimes he would remain fasting up to the hour of dinner, and oftentimes throughout the whole day, examining and giving judgement, and at the same time studying the fickleness of the Christian mind and the measure of one's progress or failure in faith and good morals. And if opportunity was found in the midst of these proceedings, he would instruct people and admonish them regarding the things of eternal life. And he never asked anything from those to whom he had given so much time, except that obedience and Christian respect which is due to God and man.

Whilst rebuking public evil-doers, he kept in mind the hope that he might arouse others to fear. All this he did as a watchman set up by the Lord in the house of Israel. In season, and out of season, he preached the word, arguing, exhorting, and reprimanding in long suffering and knowledge, and availing of every opportunity to instruct those whose duty it was to teach others.

When appealed to in temporal matters, he invariably replied by letter. And now, although these occupations were in a manner troublesome, as they took him away from more important things, he had the happiness to feel that they afforded him opportunity to give friendly and homely advice on the things that were of God.

CHAPTER XX

WE remember also that when appealed to by intimate friends for letters of intercession to the magistrates, he would refuse them, saying that the judgement given by wise men should be upheld, as it is said; and hence, out of regard for his own reputation, he would not make himself responsible. With gravity he sometimes would say that

one's influence when often used becomes irksome. But, if when petitioned he thought it well to intervene, he proceeded with delicacy and candour, so that his action instead of being considered overbearing or interfering, on the contrary excited admiration.

When the necessity arose in a certain case for an appeal by letter to a Governor of Africa, named Macedonius, the Governor granted his request, and replied to him in this wise. 'I feel moved to admiration by the wisdom shown in your writings, and by your readiness not to consider it a trouble to attend to those appealing to you. That which you say is so deep in penetration, wisdom, and piety, and gives such evidence of humble reserve, that if I should not do what you commanded me, I should judge myself guilty, and without appeal, most venerable and esteemed Lord, and father.

'You do not insist, as others do in this place, upon all that the suppliant claims, but what seems to you but fair to ask from a judge, bound by so many responsibilities. That which you advise with such humble modesty is a good solution of difficulties between good people. Hence I hasten to grant that which is the burthen of your desires. And now, beforehand, I shall find a way towards a favourable solution.'

CHAPTER XXI

WHENEVER possible, he tried to be present at the councils of the holy priests held in different provinces, seeking nothing of benefit to himself, but the things of Jesus Christ; thus lending his aid in preserving inviolate the faith of the holy Catholic Church. And should any priest or cleric appear under the ban of excommunication, his case was considered, and if found guilty, or innocent, he was accordingly either expelled, or absolved. Then with regard to the ordination of priests and clerics, Augustine considered that the ancient customs of the Church, and the practice of seeking the general consensus of the Christians, should be observed.

CHAPTER XXII

His vesture, shoes, and apartments were in accord with his moderate needs, neither too good, nor too mean ; but men are inclined to treat such modesty with contempt and to avoid it, seeking rather themselves than that which is of Jesus Christ. But he, as I have shown, kept to the medium course, not inclining to the right or to the left. At table, it was his custom to be frugal, and sparing. He had soup or vegetables for a change. There was meat sometimes for his guests or the infirm members ; and there was wine at all times. He knew and quoted what the Apostle had said : ' Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected that is received with thanksgiving. For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.'¹ And Augustine himself has put down in his *Confessions*² : ' I do not fear defilement from what I eat, but the defilement of gluttony. I know that it was granted to Noah to eat any kind of flesh that was good for food ; that Elias was fed with meat ; that John, accustomed to such rigorous fasting, was not defiled by the animals (namely, the locusts) procured by him for food. I know of the temptation of Esau, and of his desire for lentils ; and of David, who because of his longing for water reproved himself ; and the people in the wilderness merited reproach, not because they had a desire for meat, but whilst desiring food, they murmured against God. With regard to wine the Apostle's opinion holds good, for when writing to Timothy he said : Do not still drink water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thy frequent infirmities.'³

With regard to cutlery, the spoons only were of silver ; the vessels in which the food was served were of clay, wood, or marble ; and this was not of necessity, but because it was his wish.

He was always hospitable, but at table he showed more delight in the reading and conversation than in eating and drinking. Because of a human failing which was to him

¹ 1 Tim. iv, 4, 5.² Book X, 31.³ 1 Tim. v, 23.

pestilential; he had the following verse written up: 'He who would injure the name of an absent friend, may not at this table as guest attend.' 'If anyone in his conversation attempts to injure the character of some absent one, let him consider himself unwelcome to this table.' Thereby all partaking of his hospitality were reminded to abstain from detraction and from all extravagant and evil stories concerning others.

It happened that on one occasion some of his most intimate associates in the episcopacy, forgetting this formal rule, began criticising some person. He immediately reprimanded them, saying with severity: 'Either these words must be effaced, or I shall have to leave you in the middle of your meal and retire to my room.' I myself and others who were present witnessed this.

CHAPTER XXIII

ALWAYS mindful of the poor, he was ready to share with them whatever he, or those dwelling with him, could spare from their income, whether it came from the church funds, or from the offerings of the faithful. And, as it sometimes happened, when differences arose amongst the clerics regarding their salaries, Augustine would tell the people that he preferred to live on their alms than to be troubled with the control and care of church possessions; and that he was willing to give them up, so that all the servants, and ministers of God, might live as we are instructed in the Old Testament: 'They that serve the altar partake of the altar.'¹ But this the laity could not willingly agree to.

CHAPTER XXIV

HE gave to clerics whom he considered trustworthy the management of the property of the church house, never keeping in his own hands a key or signet. All the income and expenses were accounted for by these clerics, and at the

¹ 1 Cor. ix, 13.

close of the year a statement was given him, so that he might know how much had been received, and spent, and what remained over for further spending. In all matters he placed confidence in the honesty of these trusty servants, and never demanded explanation from them.

House, or land, or villa, he never cared to buy, but if perchance anyone wished to leave such in a bequest to the Church, or to leave them to himself by legal testament, he did not refuse them, but accepted what was thus bequeathed. But we know that at times he refused legacies, which, although they would have benefited the poor, he considered to be, in justice, the heritage of children, parents, or relatives, whom he did not wish to see deprived of them.

A certain man belonging to a respectable family of Hippo, whilst living at Carthage, expressed his wish to leave his possessions to the Church of Hippo, and made a will in favour of Augustine, of holy memory, whilst holding for his use for the time being the income from these possessions. Augustine accepted the gift, congratulating the donor in as much as he had done this whilst thinking of his eternal salvation. But after some years, and at a time when we were together, behold, the donor sent a letter by his son asking that the documents connected with the bequest might be returned to him, whilst, for the relief of the poor, he forwarded a sum of money (100 solidos). When Augustine heard this he was very grieved, seeing that the man regretted his good work, and that his gift was merely fictitious; and lifting his heart to God, with sorrow of soul he spoke to us of this disappointing matter. Then with a reproof and an admonition to this man, the documents, which he had voluntarily given without solicitation or expectation, were immediately returned, and at the same time the sum of money which had been sent was not accepted. Considering it his duty to write to him, he administered a sharp reprimand, admonishing him that, for his deception and fickleness, he should do humble penance before God, and not leave this world without making reparation.

Augustine often said that it was safer for the Church to accept legacies bequeathed by the dead than to accept those legacies which might afterwards be considered injurious

to the heirs ; and that such legacies should be offered, rather than sought for. He never accepted anything in trust for himself, but did not prevent his clergy from receiving gifts.

He showed little interest in the material things which the Church held or possessed. Following with strong desire the higher spiritual things, it was seldom that he relaxed in his contemplation of the eternal to turn to the temporal. Sometimes matters vexatious and difficult claimed attention, but when these were disposed of and set in order, he returned to his interior and deeper contemplation, seeking the solution of divine problems, dictating to writers, or correcting that which he had already written.

Thus he laboured during the day and far into the night, like Mary, the holy penitent, who is in a sense a type of the celestial Church. She sat, as it is written, at the feet of the Lord listening intently to his words, and when her sister who was busy with the household affairs called to her for help, she heard the Lord say : ' Martha, Martha, Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken from her.'¹

He gave but little attention to new buildings that were being erected. He wished to avoid distraction and to keep his mind free from all mundane anxieties. Yet he was interested in the progress of the work and saw that the expenditure was not immoderate. If the funds of the Church became exhausted, he made it known to the Christian people that there was nothing for the relief of the poor, and if necessary, he would even order the sacred vessels to be broken up and melted. That was when he had no other means of releasing captives, and helping the needy. I should not mention this, but I saw that it was contrary to the views of some worldly minded people. In great necessity, Ambrose, of venerable memory, did not hesitate to do the same, as he himself relates.²

Speaking in the church, he would admonish the people not to neglect the offerings and collections for the sacristy, from which offerings things necessary for the altar were provided. He told us that he heard the Blessed Ambrose speak in the same manner when present in his church.

¹ Luke x, 41-2.

² Ambrose, L. ii, c. 18.

CHAPTER XXV

AUGUSTINE had always some clerics residing with him in the same house and these ate at the same table, and were clothed from a common fund.

Lest anyone should think lightly of swearing or lying, he preached on the matter to the people in the church, and he made it a rule for his own clerics who dwelt with him, that they should not swear, especially at table. If perchance any should fail to observe this rule, he was deprived of a portion of his wine; the amount of wine allowed to those living and dining with him being fixed to measure. Irregularity, transgressions against the rule of the house, or dishonesty he would always correct as far as it seemed necessary; giving advice at the same time, lest in heart any should resort to falsehood to find excuse for their faults. 'If therefore thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there thou remember that thy brother hath anything against thee, leave there thy offering before the altar and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then coming thou shalt offer thy gift.'¹ 'But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother. And if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, and if he will not hear them, tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.'² And to these words he added the example of the brother seeking forgiveness for his sins, 'not seven times, but seventy times seven is the fault forgiven.' Thus each one of us must ask God daily to pardon us.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE presence of women was not tolerated in the house, and no female dwelt therein; not even his own sister who lived for many years as a widow, observing the vows of the hand-

¹ Matt. v, 23, 24.

² Matt. xviii, 15-17.

maids of the Lord. The same may be said regarding the daughters of his uncle and his brother, who were also serving God, although these relations, according to the opinion of holy bishops, might be excepted. Yet, he said, although no suspicions might arise regarding the presence of his sister or his nieces in his home, these persons might find opportunity for associating with other women who would come to visit them, and thus offence, or scandal, might be given to the sordid-minded. Then again, the man-servants, even the most chaste, who resided with the bishop or clergy, might become either the victims of temptation or they might be defamed in their character by evil-minded people if permitted to associate and be friendly with women. Hence he decided that it was better that females, even the most chaste, did not reside with the servants of God, since there was always the danger of scandal; and when it became necessary to interview women looking for advice or begging, they were not received except in the presence of other clerics, and were not conversed with alone, unless on matters of secrecy.

CHAPTER XXVII

WITH regard to visiting, Augustine followed the rule laid down by the Apostle, and went only to orphans and widows in their distress, and to the sick when they sought him, so that, being present with them in person, he might beseech the Lord for them, and lay his hands upon them. Without delay he went to these. He visited the Monastery of Nuns only when he had urgent business. At times he would refer to the life and practices of that man of God, Ambrose of holy memory, and to what he learned from him. According to Ambrose we should not seek out a wife for anybody; nor recommend the military career to anyone; nor attend, although invited, the national festivals; and in each case he gave his reasons. When married couples quarrel between themselves, they may curse him who had brought them together, though, indeed, when asked by those about to contract marriage, the priest is bound to be present, so that

their union and consent might be sealed, and that the parties might be blessed.

With regard to recommending a military career, if it should not be a success, the unfortunate result is attributed to the one who recommended it. Then with regard to being present at national festivals, there is the danger of overstepping the bounds of temperance.

He pointed out to us also what he heard of that man of holy memory (Ambrose) when he was near the end of his life. He uttered words of great piety and wisdom which Augustine often praised and often referred to when preaching. For instance, when that venerable man lay sick unto death, the chief members of the faithful standing round his couch, knowing that he was soon to pass from this world to God, were overcome with grief because their Church was going to lose so great a prelate, and because they were no longer to benefit by his instructions or his administration of the Sacraments. Hence with tears they besought him to ask Almighty God to prolong his life. And he said to them, 'I have not lived in such wise that I should be ashamed to live amongst you still. Nor do I fear to die, because we have the good God with us.'

And our own Augustine, himself grown old, praised and admired these few but expressive words. When Ambrose said 'Nor do I fear to die, because we have the good God with us,' he did not wish that anyone present should judge him as presumptuous regarding his penitential works. When he said 'I have not lived in such wise that I should be ashamed to live amongst you still,' he referred to what men can know of a man; but conscious of the scrutiny of the Divine judgement, he admonished them to have the greatest confidence in the goodness of God, to whom each one says daily in the Lord's Prayer, 'forgive us our trespasses.'

He frequently related the words of another brother bishop, a very intimate friend of his, when in his last illness. When visiting him, seeing that he was soon to die, with a gesture of his hand this prelate gave him to understand that he was about to leave this world; and when he replied, saying that he might be spared as one necessary for the Church, the Bishop, repudiating the thought that he had a great wish to

cling to life, said : ' If I were never to die, very well ; but if some time, why not now ? ' And Augustine marvelled at this reply, and extolled the man who bore himself so bravely. He was a God-fearing man, born and brought up in the country and not reputed as one having a high education.

And how different were the dispositions of that dying bishop to those of a man of whom the blessed Martyr Cyprianus tells us in his letters on mortality. ' When a certain one of our college and brother priests became weak in his infirmity, and grew disturbed at the thought of the approach of death, he besought the company to pray for him ; and whilst doing so, there stood before the dying man a youth, noble in manner and bearing, tall in stature, and refined in looks. He could not bear to look upon this vision with carnal eyes, lest he should be brought to see that he was about to leave this world. It was not without some indignation in his thoughts and speech that the youth reprimanded him, saying : " You are afraid to suffer, you do not wish to die ; how can I help you ? " ' ¹

CHAPTER XXVIII

BEFORE the day of his death approached, Augustine made a review of all the books which he had dictated or published, those which he had written before his conversion or whilst still a layman, and those which he had written as a priest and bishop. When he discovered anything in these writings that was not in accord with ecclesiastical law, or that had been written when he had not such a clear and concise knowledge of ecclesiastical usage, he made the necessary corrections with his own hand. And in this way he compiled two volumes, which are called ' The correction of his books. ' ²

Certain of these books had been taken by the Hermits, but these he corrected afterwards. At the time of his death he left many works unfinished. It was his wish to help everyone, those who had the time to read several books,

¹ Cyprianus, *Serm. de Mortalitate*.

² *The Retractions*.

and those who had time to read only a few. He made many extracts from the Divine Testament, new and old, showing what was commanded or forbidden by the precepts that constituted the rule of life, and he made a codex of these, to which he added a preface. He who reads this volume, which is called the *Mirror*, will come to understand whether he lives in obedience or disobedience to God.

And now, the Divine Will permitting, there appeared in a short time great forces of the Vandal army, with whom were associated Allans, Goths, and people of other races, all of whom were armed with spears, and exercised in war. They crossed the sea in ships from parts of Spain, and, pouring into Africa, spread over the land, penetrating into every part of Mauritania, and even into our province and district. They perpetrated all the cruelties and atrocities imaginable ; robbery, murder, torturings, burnings, and innumerable other barbarities, so that the country became depopulated. They respected neither sex, nor age, nor priest, nor ministers of God, nor ornaments or sacred vessels, nor Church buildings. Marauding and destroying came these ferocious hordes, and it was not as other men that the holy Augustine felt, as he reflected upon what was happening, or about to happen. In profound and holy contemplation he clearly saw not only the dangers of death, but especially the grave perils to which human souls were exposed. 'He that addeth knowledge, addeth also labour.'¹ 'The heart understanding gnaws at our bones.'

Tears were his bread day and night. They were mournful and bitter beyond all others, because of his old age, and because life was now nearing its end. The holy man heard of the cities destroyed by fire, of the dwellers therein slain in conflict or dispersed as fugitives ; of holy virgins, and others consecrated to holy continency, persecuted, given over to torture, slain by the sword, or sold into captivity, where there was danger of losing body, and soul, and faith, when subjected to the hard and cruel servitude of their enemies. God's hymn of praise had ceased in the churches destroyed by fire, and the solemn sacrifice in which God had been worshipped was no longer offered ; the sacraments were not

¹ Eccles. i, 18.

sought for, and if sought, those who could administer them were not at hand.

People fled to the woods and the mountains, or hid amongst the rocks and in secret places. If perchance they wandered into the camps, they were either murdered or, having been stripped of what they possessed, driven out to die of hunger. There were some clergy and ministers of the churches who, through the goodness of God, had not fallen into the hands of the invader, or who having been captured escaped, and these, having lost everything, were obliged to beg for the very necessities of life. It was not possible to supply them with all the things they needed. Now, of the numerous churches there were only three that had not been destroyed, the churches of Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtense. These cities still held out under the Divine and human protection ; but after Augustine's death, the city of Hippo was abandoned by the people and was taken and burned down by the enemy. In the midst of these misfortunes the words of a certain wise man comforted the Saint : ' He is not great who thinks himself great while timber and stones fall, and mortals die.'

Knowing what was happening daily, he wept bitterly, and his lamentations and sorrows increased when Hippo and the neighbouring country, which had so long remained intact, were about to be besieged by the enemy forces. As they approached, a certain Count Boniface took up the defence of the city. He was in command of an army of allied Goths and held out whilst the enemy invested the city for nearly fourteen months, though the harbour had been cut off from the inhabitants.

Those bishops who belonged to the neighbourhood as well as others who fled thither were there during the whole time of the siege. Hence we often spoke together of the terrible judgement of God that had befallen us, as was evident to our eyes. ' Thou are just, O Lord, and thy judgements are right,'¹ we repeated, and sorrowing we cried aloud with tears, imploring the merciful God, the Father of all consolation, to succour us in these tribulations.

¹ Ps. cxviii, 137.

CHAPTER XXIX

AND we remember that whilst sitting together and conversing at table, Augustine said to us: 'You must know that, in this time of calamity, I have prayed to God that He might deliver this city beset by the enemy, and, if this was not His holy Will, that He would give strength to His servants to submit to His decrees; and also that He might be pleased to take me to Himself out of this world.' And saying this, whilst we listened, each and every one of us, who were in the city with him, prayed together to the good God; and behold, in the third month of the siege he was confined to bed, exhausted by fever; and this as it happened was his last illness. Nor did the Lord withhold from His servant what he sought in his prayers. All those things which he had asked for in his petitions, both for himself and for the city, were granted in time.

I have known him, during the time of his priesthood and his episcopacy, to have been asked to pray for people obsessed by the devil, and when he appealed to God with prayers and tears, the evil spirits would depart from those obsessed; but on one occasion, whilst he was lying ill in bed, a certain person came bringing an invalid to him and asked him to lay his hands upon him, that he might be healed. And he said to them: 'Do you think that if I possess any such power of healing, I would not use it in my own case first?' and the person said: 'I have had a visitation and it was said to me in a dream: "Go to the Bishop Augustine, that he may lay hands upon thee, and you will be saved."' When he heard this, he did not hesitate, and the Lord healed the infirm man and he went his way.

CHAPTER XXX

AND here I must mention that whilst the enemy of whom I have spoken was pressing forward, Augustine's advice was sought by a certain holy man, Honoratus, Bishop of the

Church of Thiabe. He asked whether, under such grave circumstances, the bishops and clergy might fly to safety or not. In his letters Honoratus referred to what was most to be feared from those destroyers of the Romans. The letter in reply bears instructions for those entrusted with the care of souls. Augustine wrote in this manner: 'Augustine to Honoratus greeting in the Lord. By sending your grace a copy of a letter which I wrote to Quodvultdeus, our Brother Bishop, I think it will relieve me of the task which you would impose upon me when you seek advice as to what you should do in the midst of the perils that have befallen us in these times.'¹

CHAPTER XXXI

TRULY the Saint had length of years divinely allotted to him for the benefit and joy of the holy Catholic Church. He lived for seventy-six years and was in the clerical state and the Episcopacy for nearly forty years.

In friendly converse he was often wont to say to us that after receiving Baptism, the Christian, however laudable his work, and priests especially, should not pass out of this mortal state without doing ample and worthy penance for sin. This he did himself, and during the illness in which he died he had the Psalms of David, which are the few called the penitential Psalms, written down, and these were hung in order upon the wall where he could see them whilst lying in bed. During that illness he recited them continuously and whilst he did this he shed bitter and abundant tears. And lest his reflections might be disturbed by anyone, during the ten days before he departed this life, he asked that he might be left alone, and that no one would enter his room except at the hours when the doctor came to see him, or when his food was being brought him; and we observed his wishes and did not disturb him. He spent all the time in prayer.

Up to the days of his last illness, he continued with

¹ Let. 228.

great perseverance, ardour, and strength, and with clearness of mind and judgement, to preach the Word of God. He was sound in all the members of his body, and enjoyed good sight and hearing.

Whilst we stood around him, watching him, and at the same time joining with him in prayer, he sank into sleep with his fathers, having reached a good old age. And for his eternal repose, on the day of his burial the holy sacrifice was offered up, at which we were all present.

He made no will, for, as a poor man of God, he had no possessions. He desired that his library and manuscripts might be carefully preserved for posterity by those succeeding him in the Church, whilst those things that he owned in the Church, whether offerings or sacred vessels, be left to the priests of his household who had charge of the Church. With regard to his relations, whether in the religious state or not, he treated them in the ordinary manner. Where he had something to spare, and when necessity arose, he gave to them just as he gave to others, not to enrich them, but to help them in need.

He left the Church supplied with sufficient clergy, with monasteries filled with holy men and nuns living according to their religious profession, and in continency. He also left the Church his library containing books and treatises written by himself, or by other holy men. In these works it can be seen how, with God's help, Augustine became so great in the Church, and in these works the faithful shall find that Augustine lives for ever.

A certain profane poet once told his friends to write this epitaph upon his tomb when they laid him in the public cemetery :

' O Wanderer, wouldst thou know if the poet lives after death.
Behold, these words thou readest I speak,
Your voice is but my breath.'

It is indeed made clearly manifest in his writings how acceptable and dear to God was His priest ; how it was granted to him to see things in the light of truth ; and how perseveringly and how wisely he lived in the faith, the hope, and charity, of the Holy Catholic Church. Those who read

what he has written on Divine things will benefit thereby ; but I believe that they had the greater benefit who were privileged to see him in the church and to listen to his preaching, and especially those who were intimate with his manner of converse in public.

‘ He was not only a scribe instructed in the Kingdom of heaven, bringing forth from his treasures new things and old,¹ he was also like the merchant who, discovering the treasure, sold all that he possessed so as to possess it. He was likewise of those of whom it is written, “ So speak ye, and so do.”² He that shall do and teach men thus, he shall be called great in the Kingdom of heaven.’³

And now, in conclusion, I crave your charity, that while you read what I have written here, you give thanks with me to the Omnipotent God who gave me such enlightenment, and enabled me to bring these facts to the notice of men who are near or afar ; to men of our own day, and of future time. Pray for me, and pray with me, that in this life I may follow and imitate the example of that great man, with whom I have lived for nearly forty years in the closest friendship, and in all sweetness, and without trouble or disagreement.

In the life to come may I share with him in the promises of the Omnipotent God. Amen.

¹ Matt. xiii, 52.

² James ii, 12.

³ Matt. v, 19.

THE AUGUSTINIANS—
FROM ST. AUGUSTINE
TO THE UNION, 1256



CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING

THE history of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine in Africa begins forty-three years before the collapse of the Latin civilisation. Chroniclers pass over these four decades as historically uneventful, except for the fact that the Hermits made rapid increase ; and that in the various cities to which they spread the service which they rendered to the Church met with ecclesiastical appreciation. Founded by the Saint within the year of his conversion, his institute grew out of conditions of the humblest character to be one of the great ecclesiastical institutions that will endure with the Church through all the ages. In the beginning the Hermit was merely a layman who sought the peace of God in seclusion from the world. He did not aspire to any participation in the sacred ministry ; but when Augustine thought it expedient to call him from his retreat to take his place in the priesthood, or to assume the chief pastoral charge of a diocese, there was evidence of a break in the original rigours of his rule. The precedent which was thus given other bishops followed ; and in the case of new foundations the Hermits were subjected to conditions requiring them to give their services in the education and preparation of candidates for the priesthood, and probably also in the instruction of converts and catechumens.

We can trace the foundations of the Hermits to thirteen cities, though some writers claim that their houses must have far exceeded this number. The houses of which we have definite record are those of Tagasta, Hippo, Carthage, Trabrachene, Idedense, Tabessa, Milidi, Adrumet, Chilimi, Sicca, Telecta, Junta, and Mandrakon. Though some of these houses must have been small, there were others that provided accommodation for eighty and a hundred members.

When Roman supremacy in Africa went down into the dust under the feet of the Vandal, the Hermits passed into the silence that involves the whole African Church. The ruins of their monasteries remain unidentified amongst the half-buried skeletons of the vast buildings that mark the graves of the dead cities.

Traditions connected with Tabessa, Tagasta, and Hippo claim a special notice. At Tabessa (Theveste) the French 'Service des Beaux Arts' have recently brought to light, in their work of excavation, the extensive remains of a monastery. The character of these ruins, and the period to which they have been assigned by the eminent archæologist, M. Albert Ballée, lead us to entertain the belief that they belonged to the Hermits of St. Augustine. They stand a quarter of a mile from the walls of the city, and cover an area of 20,000 square metres, which is completely enclosed by a wall. The ornamental and pillared arch of the gateway leading into the enclosure of the monastery is still standing solid and defiant of time. The church, which had all the dimensions of a basilica, stood nearly central in the main area. It was 148 feet in length, and 68 feet in width, and was approached by a number of steps which extended the whole width of the building. Superb mosaics, fragments of coloured marbles that cased the sanctuary walls, and remnants of beautifully sculptured pillars and capitals are eloquent indications of its architectural splendour.

There was accommodation in the Tabessa monastery for a hundred religious. M. Ballée has made drawings which show the reconstruction of the façade of the church, the covered court leading to the domestic buildings, and the beautiful entrance gate. A novel feature of the monastery was an arrangement for the stabling of about a hundred horses underneath the domestic section of the buildings. There is no explanation for the provision of such extensive stabling, except that Tabessa, being a large military garrison, the stabling provided for military emergency. It would seem to be a permanent part of the original structure. There were marble slabs to keep the animals apart, and marble troughs for their food.

Founded by Vespasian, who reigned from A.D. 70 to 79,

Tabessa was continually garrisoned by strong forces of legionaries. The object was to ensure security for the European speculator who grew rich upon the sweat and labour of serf and slave drawn from the heterogeneous population. It stood at the junction of nine great roads, 190 miles from Carthage and 145 miles directly south from Hippo. It is probable that during the construction of the road from Hippo to Tabessa the towns of Tagasta, Thiabe, and Maudaura were founded. This road traversed some of the richest plateaux, and the facilities which it afforded for transport made Hippo one of the richest ports in the province. Galleys were soon bearing away to Europe from its harbour large quantities of grain, timber, horses, sheep, and oxen. Before Hippo was destroyed by the Vandals it is said that the population had reached 30,000, a factor significant of its progress and importance.

Hippo stood upon a cone-shaped hill the base of which descended into a plain almost level with the sea—hence the difficulties with which the Vandals met when trying to force its fortifications. After a prolonged siege, it fell in the year 342. It was burned to the ground, and its ruins lie buried still in the desolation in which the Vandals left them. Some recent excavations have brought to light remains of the Punic walls, and the site of the 'Basilica of Peace,' where the Council of Hippo was held A.D. 393, and where Augustine delivered his address on 'Faith and the Creed.'¹ In his search the enterprising antiquary has not touched upon the sites of other churches mentioned in the letters of Augustine. There was a church dedicated to St. Stephen, one to St. Theognis, and one to St. Leontius. There were also churches held by the Donatists.

On the crest of the hill where Hippo stood, Cardinal Lavigerie's Basilica rises in its magnificence. It embodies the great Cardinal's faith in the revival of Christianity in Africa. The Hermits of St. Augustine are now in charge of the Basilica.

About a mile from the ruins of Hippo the Beys of Tunis built an Arab town in the fourteenth century, and gave it the name of 'Babel-el-Annaba.' Hippo was then forgotten till

¹ Let. 213.

the French built the city of Bone, the modern character of which overshadows the 'Kaskbas' of the Arab town.¹

Tagasta, which has lived with such freshness in the memory of Christendom as the place of Augustine's birth, is situated in the hills about sixty miles south of Hippo. The Hippo-Tabessa road winds its way amongst cork-oak forests and rises to a level of 2000 feet before emerging at the Arab town of 'Souk-Arhas,' which was built upon the ruins of the ancient Tagasta about the middle of the seventeenth century. Here, too, we meet with the modernity which we have noticed at Hippo. Since the French occupation, besides reviving the ancient name, Europeans have erected their houses and shops and hotels in modern style ; and have laid out in the new quarter of the town promenades and squares shaded by beautiful trees. The Arab 'Souks' remain unchanged and the Arab himself remains impervious to the civilisation of his present masters. He sits at his door, like his people of a thousand years ago, plying his craft or watching the industry of his neighbour. He is sullen and unfriendly. The women that you meet in the tortuous lanes stare at you with a disconcerting curiosity through the slits in their veils.

If the traditions preserved at Tagasta have the value ascribed to them by Louis Bertrand, they are as important as they are interesting ; for he says that they must have been Christian in their origin. The Arabs hold Augustine as one of their own ancient 'Marabouts,' and from time immemorial the nomad tribes who pastured their flocks amongst the hills gathered annually at a certain date to venerate his memory. A great old olive tree, which still marks the site of Augustine's home, was on these occasions decorated for the ceremony, and is still the object of native veneration. 'We have proofs,' says Bertrand, 'that the Latin and Christian traditions were never lost in Africa, and there can be no doubt regarding the Moslem traditions and their cult of St. Augustine.' At Hippo, as well, the Arabs regarded Augustine as one of their own, and they preserved in their mosque fragments of sculpture from his tomb, whilst over the door of the mosque there was a slab

¹ Bone is a contraction of the Punic name 'uboone.'

with an inscription in half-effaced Gothic lettering, showing the figure of a bishop with the pastoral staff and pallium.¹

At Tagasta there was a grotto cut into the side of the rising plateau upon which Augustine's monastery was built. Gramage says that it contained a statue of the saint, and that the sides were painted like the monumental tombs of Carthage. He states that he saw a sketch made of it by a 'Brother of Mercy' whilst engaged in the ransom of Christian captives. From the traditions which they gathered from the natives, these brothers were convinced that they had located the very place where Augustine was born; and every year, on September 5 and November 13, they celebrated Mass in the grotto. At this time no trace of the ruins of Tagasta were to be seen, nor had the town of Souk-Arhas appeared.

Augustine.

St. Possidius tells us that Augustine's parents were Christian. For the greater part of his life his father preferred the freedom of paganism to the moral restraints of Christianity, and it was not till a short time before his death that he received holy baptism. It was a prevailing custom in Roman Africa for Christians to intermarry with pagans. Such alliances were not regarded with disfavour by the Christians, and when Patricius asked for the hand of Monica in marriage, his social position and comparative wealth prevailed with her parents. The saintly Monica became the wife of Patricius, though her instinct told her what she would have to suffer from the coarse brutality of his pagan nature. It was her duty as the child of a Christian family to obey the wishes of her parents, and she accepted her position without a murmur, a position that was little better than that of the domestic slave. She carried with her her Christian patience and charity, and whilst 'she ministered to her husband as her lord, she endeavoured earnestly to win him to God.'²

In the early years of marriage and motherhood her chief concern was to guard the innocence of her children against the pagan influences that dominated her whole household. She endeavoured to inspire them with her own great love

¹ Gramage, *Africa Illustrata*, pub. 1621.

² Conf. IX, 9.

of God and of the Holy Name ; to teach them to pray ; and to impart to them such knowledge of Christian truth as was within the grasp of their intelligence. Augustine, speaking of the impression made by Monica's simple teaching, says : ' By Thy mercy, O God, I heard the name of Thy Son, my Saviour . . . and it became firmly imprinted in my tender heart.'¹ ' Thou sawest, my God, with what eagerness and with what faith I sought from the pious hands of my mother, and Thy Church, the mother of us all, the baptism of thy Christ, my God and Lord.'² These were the words of Augustine speaking of the holy guardianship of his childhood and his desire for baptism ; but the Church at this period had her reasons for deferring the sacrament, and for administering it only to adults.

The wonderful gifts of mind which Augustine displayed in the school of Tagasta soon caught the attention of his teachers, and his father decided to send him to Maudaura, a city which offered greater advantages in education. Monica, though nervous at the suggestion, shared the father's ambition for the future career of their child. Naturally she sensed the dangers to his morals and to his faith, but she was helpless in face of his father's decision ; and Augustine left his mother's side at an age when he needed a mother's strength to lean upon.

Jupiter, the God of Lust, was worshipped at Maudaura ; the mental attitude of the professors was in opposition to Christianity ; the moral atmosphere of the schools was infectious and debasing. ' Can it be wondered at, then, that I wandered among vanities and strayed far from thee, O God ! '³ That deadly atmosphere sapped the strength of conscience which he had acquired under the solicitous care of his mother. At first his refined and sensitive nature must have revolted at what he saw and heard, but in time the pagan susceptibilities inherited from a pagan father took the reins of destiny, and he was driven headlong into the degrading whirl of a pagan city.

In after years, as he looked back to those days when conscience turned away from the voice of God, he thought of the great mercy that shielded him. ' Thou, my God, Thou

¹ Conf. III, 4.² Conf. I, 2.³ Conf. I, 16.

heldest Thy peace . . . And I wandered further and further from Thee.'¹

— He left Maudaura after three years and went to Carthage for his higher academic studies. Here he resolved to lead a correct and sober existence and to preserve his self-respect before the eyes of his contemporaries ; but the life and seductions of the city became so intoxicating to his youth that he broke again with the moral restraints which he tried to impose upon himself. He was only eighteen years of age at this time. Perhaps we can view his lapse with sympathy. Carthage was the centre of attraction for all that was infamous and debasing in paganism, and for all that was disruptive in Christianity. Its circus and theatres catered for the luxurious and lascivious tastes of the idle rich of the colony. The personnel of its academy was exclusively pagan. He had the commonsense, however, not to allow the pleasures of the city to take him from his work. He had come with a great ambition and was intent upon making use of the exceptional advantages afforded him to perfect his education. His vanity aspired 'to brilliant scholastic achievements.' He applied himself diligently to his studies, and the ease with which he mastered the whole course of the sciences and philosophy showed the marvellous development of his intelligence at this time. He outstripped his preceptors ; he became the celebrity of the schools ; yet, despite the realisation of his ambitions and the triumph that he achieved in winning the coveted trophy for rhetoric and literature, the 'Corona Agonistica,' which was placed upon his brow by the hand of the Proconsul in the public circus, he felt a restlessness of soul which neither the fame won by his ability, nor the distraction of the great city, could allay. Speaking in after life of those days at Carthage, he refers in touching words to his childhood's days, when he learned to know and to love the sweet name of Christ, that name which lived in the recesses of his heart, and which was ever recurring to him in all the wayward wanderings of his after life.

After completing his studies at Carthage, Augustine felt like one straying hopelessly on the borderland of paganism

¹ Conf. II, 3.

and Christianity. His whole nature seemed inclining to the lure of paganism, whilst the little which he had learned of Christianity in childhood had a mysterious hold upon his mind. Eventually we find him drifting into gnostic speculation, and embarking on his quest for 'Truth.' He searched for it in the philosophy of Plato ; he sought for it in the teachings of Manichæism, but neither the wisdom of the pagan seer, nor the vacuous principles of Mani, were sufficiently logical or convincing. For many years 'Truth' was an evanescent spirit, indiscernible in the mists through which he wandered.

He left Carthage for a while, returning again to profess rhetoric in the schools where his talents had shone with such brilliancy. Then we find him in Rome, the city of world attraction, where he thought his talents would shine to greater advantage. He opened a private Academy of Letters there, but, having been cheated out of his fees by his pagan pupils, he left the city and went to Milan, where he professed rhetoric under more favourable conditions. Milan was perhaps a greater city than Rome at this time, for the Imperial Court was permanently in residence there. Fate had led him to Milan. In his quest for 'Truth' he had come to the city where he was, at length, to find it.

At Milan he came under influences that led in a mysterious way to the regeneration of his soul. Christianity had at Milan an apologist whose voice compelled attention. It was the voice of Ambrose. This Saint's impressive eloquence, the earnestness with which he discoursed to his people, and his logical treatment of the principles of Christianity, broke down Augustine's prejudices. Attracted by the deep and genuine reverence in which Ambrose was held, he mingled with the people and listened to his sermons ; and the scriptures which he had laid aside because of their poor literary style, he now took up again and read them with a better understanding. He studied the epistles of St. Paul, the scriptural prophecies and their bearing upon the gospels, and the 'Mission of the Redeemer' ; and eventually he was led to acknowledge, with a humility of soul that is edifying to all who follow the story of his life, that the philosophy of 'Truth' was to be found only in Christianity. To finally

reach 'Truth,' he had to disentangle himself from error. It was after serious mental conflict, and after a determined struggle with human nature, that he placed himself as a catechumen for instruction like the humblest candidate for the sacrament of baptism. At Easter, 387, he was baptised and received the sacraments of the Eucharist and Confirmation from the hands of the Saint whose sublime exposition of truth had led him to the feet of Christ.

'After his reception of the sacramental graces,' says Possidius, 'he thought it pleasing to return to Africa and to his own farm and home,' where he could spend his life in making reparation for the past. Accordingly he began to make immediate preparation for the journey in company with his mother and friends. It was the fateful journey during which Augustine and Monica were to part on earth. Almighty God had dried her tears, and now He was secretly calling her to her reward in Heaven, where she would contemplate with clearer vision the wonders wrought by grace in the soul of her child. Monica died after the company had reached Ostia. They buried her there. 'In all literature,' says Portalis, 'there is no page of more exquisite sentiment than the story of her saintly death and of Augustine's grief.'

*Discourse of St. Ambrose on the Conversion of St. Augustine.*¹

You have seen, most gentle brethren, what has come to pass in these days: through such are we enabled to reach a comprehension of the sublime power and the clemency of Jesus Christ Our Lord. Let us treasure it in memory, for there is nothing upon which we Christians can congratulate ourselves so much as upon that which in this our day and time, wondering, we have witnessed with our eyes. Let us render unceasing praise to the Divine clemency, for Augustine the African from Carthage,² the most learned of Philosophers, contemning the worship of the gentiles has at length, and at the Divine call, come to find the true Christian religion. With twofold rejoicing let the time of his resurrection be celebrated, since it shows the dominion of hell

¹ Translated from the Latin.

² Augustine from Carthage—because he represented its schools.

overcome and destroyed in the victory of Christ, and since such a conversion reflects so favourably upon us Christians.

Who has striven with this soul, who has overcome it? It was not argument, nor was it any power of persuasion; in fine, it was the strength and the mercy of God; for is not this rhetorician held pre-eminent? Armed with his great erudition he came to Milan, and has he not been honourably received by all citizens? And to what purpose all this knowledge of the liberal arts, all this mastery of Philosophy? To what does this great genius tend, this skill in logic and the many arts without the Divine Preceptor? To this, that the Divine will might manifest itself the more before the eyes of mortals.

His Aristotelean method of discussion, his evasive arguments, marshalled subtleties, objections, captions, in all of which he was adept; and then those argumentative onslaughts against the holy scriptures; in face of these we are straitened so as to beseech the Divine assistance.

Why such grace of diction in this man? Why this ready eloquence which we cannot always follow without difficulty? To this end, that the faith of Christ may have more solid foundations. Often, as you will understand, he tried his strength with us, and in our defence the Divine power was co-operating. In a wonderful manner was I chosen to enlighten this man of vast erudition, that the supreme glory and splendour of the merits of Christ might rise before him. But during our discussions Augustine still pressed us so, that we had to beseech God in supplication to avert defeat by his sophistries.

Through the unceasing prayers and tears of his mother, Monica, and through our petitions, little by little he began to yield; and then he showed the desire to be present sometimes at our sermons, in which we endeavoured to show that the sincerity of our faith rises above all learning and above the arguments of all the arts.

At length, through the help of Christ, he embraced the true religion; and in this the human race, and especially the faithful of Christ, may reasonably rejoice. It is to our Simplicianus that the highest praise is due. It is he who has instructed Augustine in our holy religion, and the happy

life, and from his teaching did he accept many things regarding the faith, and the evidences and miracles of Christ. Through him his mind was purged of any vestiges of heresy that remained, and all fear of doubt dispelled. Then, O beloved brethren, with what tears did Augustine acknowledge his misery ; with what grief did he bewail the tardiness of his conversion ; with what expression of sorrow did he condemn the slowness of his repentance ; for already he had wasted half of his life in the ways of the gentiles, in vain learning, in worldly errors. Rejoice at this great triumph in which Augustine, the leader, with his militant associates, Adeonatus and Alipius, has become our captive. This captivity indeed renders Augustine blessed as it opens to him the kingdom of God. In this hour it would seem that it is Augustine who triumphs as in holy baptism we change him into a new man, and together, as if by Divine impulse, we chant a hymn of the faith of Christ. So fully has he been instructed, and so far has he withdrawn himself from the opinions and errors of the gentiles, that he strains his whole soul after knowledge. We have a new soldier for the faith of Christ, a bitter enemy of the gentiles, an invincible leader against heretics.

We clothed the new Christian in new garments, even with a black cowl, and we ourselves did gird him with a leathern cincture, which Simplicianus gave us with exceeding joy. To the Lord Jesus let the fullest praise be given for He has raised up a great prince in our religion. Let us rejoice in the Lord, who holds all things in His strength and who in incomprehensible majesty embraces all the universe. Let the angels rejoice at this memorable conversion of Augustine. Let the heavens and the earth rejoice. United let us bless the Lord because in order to bestow His help upon mankind He has made and enlightened Augustine ; and because from the beginning of our religion Christians have received both aid and succour from Him ; and in Him the constitutions of our religion have had their origin. In time to come, men will celebrate the conversion of Augustine with Divine honours. Amen.

From the seventeenth century to our own time, certain

writers have questioned the Ambrosian authorship of this sermon. Amongst the earliest critics who did not find sufficient warranty for the authenticity was Cardinal Baronius. His opinion was that 'it should not be included in the works of St. Ambrose; not because of doubt concerning the monastic habit of St. Augustine, but because of the impossibility of admitting his investiture on the day of his baptism.'¹ He further remarks that 'the style is not that of the Saint'; yet the undisputed antiquity ascribed to the sermon, the dignity and style of the language therein, the importance of the occasion, and the venerable tradition connected with the authorship, had sufficient weight with the vast majority of ecclesiastical writers of the times, and exposed the Cardinal's opinions to severe contemporary criticism.

We do not find Augustinian writers defending the contention that the investiture took place on the day of Augustine's baptism. Crusenius, Marquez, and others, say that it need not have taken place until after the customary processions of Low Sunday. Whenever the ceremony did take place, the conversion of a man so distinguished in the intellectual associations of Milan must have given Ambrose inspiration for his discourse, and no little joy to the hearts of the Milanese Christians; and we need not wonder if the great orator departed on that occasion from the mellifluous style of his writings, and adapted his language to the intelligence of his people, the most of whom were illiterate. It is evident that the Baronian opinion did not shake the belief in the age-long tradition, for we find a vast amount of contemporary opinion in disagreement with him. We find Pope Clement VI quoting from the 'sermon' in his homily on the feast of Augustine, '*Nephtalim cervus emissus*'; while Dionysius Carth,² Peter Natalis,³ the Milanese writers, Malbricius and Hilarion, appear to be equally positive in their belief that the sermon was delivered by St. Ambrose.⁴

More recent critics have not contributed anything worthy of comment to the controversy. They merely dismiss the sermon on the groundless assumption that it is not a genuine work of St. Ambrose.

¹ A.D. 388, p. 574.

³ *Life of St. Simplicianus*.

² Sermon I on St. Augustine.

⁴ Crusenius V, 15.

In the Ambrosian sermon the notable passage occurs : ' together, as if by Divine impulse, we chant a hymn of the faith of Christ.' The hymn of faith was the ' Te Deum,' which has been preserved with such popular reverence in the liturgy of the Church since the memorable Easter of 387. Here again the modern critic finds a pretext to repudiate the traditions of fifteen hundred years, carrying us in his speculations back to St. Cyprian, in whose works he finds passages somewhat identical with the passages in the hymn. Some ascribe the honour of its authorship to Nicetas of Remesiana, but the nobility of theme and sentiment in the ' Te Deum ' shows it to be the product of a greater mind. Yet the inclination is very apparent to fix the authorship upon any one except Ambrose or Augustine.

The tradition attributing the authorship to the two great Saints is held by many writers of the seventeenth century as having been Milanese in its origin. This contention is strengthened by the Chronicle of Dacius, Bishop of Milan (d. 556).¹ Referring to the conversion and baptism of Augustine, he says : ' God vouchsafing assistance to Ambrose, he baptised and confirmed him ; all the people standing by and seeing : from these fountains (of grace) the Holy Spirit gave them to speak, chanting together the " Te Deum laudamus," all those present listening, and seeing, and at the same time, marvelling ; they composed that (hymn) which is preserved and religiously sung in the universal Catholic Church until this day.' As early as 700, it is found in the hymnology of the Church of Toledo, introduced by the Archbishop, Julian. Bernard, Bishop of Spalata, in an oration before the Council of the Lateran, Donatus, chronographer of Milan, Rudolph Tongreus, and many other accredited writers, are unanimous in their belief in the traditional authorship of the hymn.

The First Hermitage.

A home where the gentle personality of his mother would reign was what Augustine had promised himself when he proposed to return to Africa, but the hand of destiny

¹ *Lib. X, c. 1.*

scattered all his plans ; like dead flowers they lay upon the grave at Ostia. He now contemplated following the example of the anchorites and spending a solitary life in the desert ; but his visit to Rome, where he studied the observance of the Cenobite communities, gave him new inspiration. He proposed to his companions a scheme of establishing hermit community life at Tagasta, and besought them to consider the matter seriously and to decide whether they would associate themselves with him in this new ideal. They readily agreed to remain in his companionship, and immediate arrangements were made for the homeward journey.

The autumn winds were stripping the trees of their purple vesture when they reached the little town amongst the African hills. As Augustine stood once more upon the threshold of the paternal home and looked out upon the familiar scenes, the spreading houses and streets beneath, the gardens where in childhood he had watched his father's slaves at work, he thought of his mother's anxious face on that day when he set out for Carthage, pursuing the illusive spectre of fame. 'As one I went out,' he says, 'as another I return.'¹ He had come back with his soul and faculties chastened in the love of Christ. Could he have taken his saintly mother's hand in his at the door of their old home, could he have seen the joy kindle in her saintly eyes once again, what a happiness it would have been.

St. Possidius was probably one of the first to come to the doors of the Tagastan retreat asking for admittance. He found the small company, which included Alipius and Evodius, following a certain code of discipline which gave their abode something of the character of a Cenobite institution. They were spending their days in fasting, prayer, and good works, meditating night and day on the laws of the Lord. Having cast off all care of the world, and having placed themselves on terms of equality, in which they had all things in common, they found freedom to give their whole service to God, to contemplation, and to the work of personal sanctification.

Here Augustine, when not engaged in the religious

¹ Serm. 3, 19.

exercises followed by his spiritual sons, devoted his time to study and writing. 'That which the Divine Master revealed to him in his solitary study, he communicated to others, either by lectures to his own circle, or by books to the world at large.' Here he finished compositions already undertaken, such as his work *De Musica*, begun at Milan; his dialogue entitled *De Magistro*, and his important work *De Vera Religione*. He sought to inspire all his associates with his own love of knowledge, and together they delved into the scriptures, from which Augustine drew forth his sparkling gems of thought. The perplexing questions that agitated the world outside caused them serious distraction at times; especially the diabolical and persistent attacks made by heretics upon the Church. These attacks aroused Augustine's zeal, and breaking away from the peaceful course of the solitary's life, he launched his counter-attacks, and thus was he drawn occasionally into the contest with the enemies of the Faith.

The first three years at Tagasta passed in unbroken peacefulness. They continued to follow their ideals undisturbed, but the mystery of their seclusion could not have failed to attract critical attention outside. People wondered why men of such learning and holiness of life should stand aside unheeding whilst the wolves were destroying the fold of Christ. Augustine was disturbed by the gossip which was carried to his ears, and he began to wonder if the hands of Destiny were already upon his gates. He was still only a layman pursuing the ways of penance in voluntary solitude, and without ambition for the 'high place' of the priesthood. All he wished for was to be allowed to live unnoticed, and undisturbed.

The radical change which occurred in his mode of life in 391 was due to a visit to Hippo. Augustine tells us that 'one day he went to Hippo, where he had a friend whom he hoped to gain for God and attach to his community at Tagasta.' At Hippo he paid a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and whilst in the church the people gathered round him, and taking him by force led him to the Bishop, Valerius. The aged prelate apologised for their disconcerting zeal and explained to Augustine his great need for a priest. It was the people's

wish that he would remain and take up the sacred ministry amongst them. 'My father,' cried Augustine, 'have you no pity? Do you wish my ruin? Where is your charity?' He pleaded for liberty to depart, but his pleading was in vain. Both Valerius and the people, who were encouraged by him, were intent on retaining him. He wept, but his tears were to them only evidence of his profound humility, and commended him more and more as a worthy candidate for the holy office. Then Augustine asked for time to consider the matter, and he was allowed to return to Tagasta, where he consulted his companions. They were evidently in favour of his entering the priesthood. Valerius was constantly sending messages in the hope of influencing his decision, and with one of these came the offer of a piece of land upon which he could erect a hermitage and establish a community of his brethren.

At one time Augustine tells us that it was his desire to fly into the desert and to devote his whole life to works of penance in the solitude of the anchorites; but he was conscious of a mysterious voice calling him into the contest with the elements that were causing such dissension in the Church. 'My God,' he says, 'Thou didst forbid me, telling me that Christ died for all, and that we may no longer live for ourselves but for Him.' And now, as the responsibility of the priesthood was being imposed upon him, he regarded it as 'a punishment for his pride of piety and learning.'¹ 'I had separated myself from the world,' he says. 'I did not deem myself worthy to be regarded as an overseer of the people. I did not seek the place of honour at the Master's feet. Thus I came to the city of Hippo, where they seized me and made me a priest. I did everything I could to work out my salvation in a humble retreat, fearing to put myself in peril by standing in the high position.'²

Augustine received the order of priesthood from Bishop Valerius in 391. After taking up his duties at Hippo, he erected the 'monastery in the precincts of the church,' at times referred to as 'the monastery in the garden.' The character of this institution has been questioned by some

¹ Let. 21.

² Serm. 49.

writers.¹ Though separated from them by the circumstances of his office, the Hermits still looked upon him as their father and founder, and he continued to take a paternal interest in all that concerned them. He lived with them while in the priesthood, and according to the arrangement decided upon with Valerius, he returned here at night when the priestly duties of the day were ended. 'Whenever the turmoil of the world has ceased,' he says, 'in weariness of heart I rush to the congenial society of my friends and there give myself up to a blessed freedom from all cares ; for I find myself there as it were almost in the presence of God.'² 'In the company of his own brethren he felt in his own element. Here, he and his companions travelled along the exalted paths of Christian doctrine ; here, hand in hand with St. Paul, he explored the abyss of Divine Truth, and soared in spirit on the eagle wings of St. John, high as the sunny realms of Divine Love. Amongst his pupils the master found men of various dispositions, but all were filled with the same keen desire for knowledge of the ever-living God ; moreover, all of them took their stand upon the solid basis of Divine Truth. In each heart glowed the fire of the love of God and man ; with them, to rule was to serve, and service meant nothing less than loving solicitude for others.'³ This all-embracing charity towards God and man is beautifully symbolised in the flaming heart which the Church has placed in the hand of Augustine.

At an assembly of bishops at Hippo, Augustine had the honour to be requested to prepare a treatise on 'Faith and the Creed,' which he delivered before them. The bishops were impressed by his fine personality, the earnestness of his faith, and the noble qualities of his mind ; and some months later, when Valerius asked their consent for his nomination as Coadjutor Bishop of Hippo, their vote was unanimous.

¹ For whom did Augustine erect this monastery ? It was evidently not for the parochial clergy, over whom he had no authority whatever. The ground 'in the garden' was ceded to him by Valerius whereon he could build a house for his brethren, and wherein he could dwell during his priesthood. Hence the establishment was for no others than his brethren who accompanied him from Tagasta. Here, as Possidius tells us, Augustine lived according to a rule which he had been already observing : a rule embodying as a fundamental principle the observance of the common proprietorship of goods.

² Let. 73.

³ Lesaar, 161.

Augustine was consecrated in the year 395. It was then that he took up his residence with the parochial clergy. At this time he had no authority to introduce religious observance into the domestic circle. Possidius makes it clear that the clergy retained possession of their personal goods, and were unwilling to share them with others ; hence the rule with its fundamental principle of common ownership does not appear to have been introduced. It was when Augustine began to draw his priests from the Hermitage that religious discipline was established in the domestic household. These austere and self-denying dwellers of the cloister desired to follow their accustomed observances as far as their parochial duties allowed.

The Hermits came to be regarded with such universal admiration and respect, that other bishops in need of priests began assailing the barriers of their solitude, and, with Augustine's approbation, they yielded to the insistent calls. In course of time many of the Hermits were engaged in the sacred ministry ; and we can appreciate the encouragement which they gave to the establishment of new hermitages in the various dioceses to which they were attached. The hermitage in its spiritual aspects made strong appeal to the bishops. It would be a retreat for the clergy, a house of study, a place from which men could be drawn to defend the gospel and to strengthen the forces that were in combat with heresy ; but it was obviously due to the hermit priests as well as to the hermit bishops that Augustine's institute spread so rapidly throughout the African province.

Chroniclers tell us of the great number of monasteries that flourished during the life-time of Augustine, but they have failed to gather anything except the merest fragments of their history. This must be attributed to their short-lived existence, and to the sudden and complete collapse of the whole African Church. The life history of hundreds of bishops, and the records of their churches, are involved in a like obscurity.

As the Vandals in their merciless conquest of pillage and murder drove the people before them, several companies of Hermits abandoned their homes, and turning their faces toward exile, carried with them into other lands their

religious ideals and the spirit of their holy founder. It was the industry and perseverance of those devoted children of Augustine that saved his Order from extinction. The record of their progress and activities in European countries tells of the patronage which enabled them to find new fields of labour, and to build up anew their abodes of contemplation and prayer. They worked for the spiritual and intellectual good of the people amongst whom they lived ; they gave bishops to the hierarchy of every country in Europe ; established schools for ecclesiastics ; whilst down through the years their numerous Saints and Beati added to the glory and triumph of the Church.

Augustine and the Heresies.

From the moment of his conversion Augustine brought the consecration of his whole being to the feet of God. Henceforth he would work for the regeneration of his soul and for the Church which had opened to him the treasures of her mercy. His conversion made a profound impression, especially in his native Africa, and when he returned to his Tagastan retreat it was the general comment that a man of such ability should not hide himself in obscurity. Hence, when he broke the silence of his seclusion and published his successive treatises on the *Immortality of the Soul*, *A happy life*, *Order* and the *Soliloquies*, the interest of his contemporaries deepened, and there was a feeling that the recluse would eventually come forth to measure his strength in the intellectual struggle of the Church with her adversaries. After three years of the penitential life, Providence led him from the company of the Hermits to the priesthood of Hippo, and the whole Catholic body shared with the holy Bishop Valerius his joy at finding in Augustine 'a man whose salutary teachings would raise up the Church of God.'

Wherever one turned in Africa at this time, there was the distracting riot of religious contention. At Hippo, Augustine found the insidious activities of the Manichæan and the Pelagian, the militant fanaticism of the Donatist, the hate and hostility of dying paganism. But despite the venomous assaults hurled against them by these wreckers

of the Church, he found the Catholic body unwavering and defiant in their defence of the vital principles of Christianity—the unity of the faith, and the unity of Christendom under the Vicar of Christ.

Augustine's fame as an apologist and writer preceded him, and when he took his place in the pulpit of Hippo the followers of the various sects showed more than a passing interest in his sermons. Whilst carefully avoiding language that might offend against charity, he did not hesitate to censure as heretics all who were responsible for the saddening divisions in Christianity. They were blindly working for its ruin. With clear logical reasoning he demonstrated the character of the one true Church of Christ. The Divine hand had given her solid foundations. She had the promise of eternal guardianship, and the logic of heresy would batter against her in vain. The line of attack cleverly adopted by Augustine must have made the desired impression, for it brought about the development which he had anticipated. There was increasing and clamorous demand to the leaders of the sects to silence this new adversary in public controversy. The Manichæans were the first to enter the arena and take up their defence. This peculiar sect believed in the existence of two great principles of Good and Evil, repudiating entirely the doctrine that all power must be attributed to One Divine Being. The Donatists differed in their tenets. They claimed to be the Saints of God on earth and that all who were outside their fold were the enemies of God and utterly lost. They declared the sacraments dispensed by the priesthood of the Catholic Church invalid and insisted upon rebaptising their converts.

Urged on by their followers, two of the most learned doctors of the Manichæans challenged Augustine to public discussion of those points of doctrine where their theological principles were in conflict. The conference took place in the Basilica of Peace. It gave Augustine the opportunity of addressing an audience of all the sects. The result is memorable. The discussion showed the formidable powers of Augustine's logic. One of the doctors opposing him felt so completely humiliated that he left the city immediately,

whilst the other, humbly and candidly admitting his defeat, asked to be reconciled to the Church.

- This conference gave Augustine the inspiration to develop his line of argument. At the close of the day, when he sought the quiet of the hermitage for rest, he would discuss the points upon which he had spoken, reasoning out again the doctrinal proofs and industriously committing them to writing. In a short time five treatises appeared in which he exposed the fallacy of the doctrine of evil, completely breaking down all rational defence of Manichæism. Besides refuting the doctrine of Mani, he gave in these works a profound exposition of the Catholic doctrine of 'Free Will.'

When he turned his attention to the Donatists, these fanatics, though urged by the spirit of inquiry aroused amongst their followers, refused to take part in a public discussion. The arguments upon which they relied to maintain their ascendancy were the arguments of physical force. Their campaign against the Catholics was always accompanied by tactics of terrorism. The bitterness with which they regarded Augustine became a menace to his life, and it became absolutely imperative to make representations to the Emperor and to demand the protection of the military authorities; but, notwithstanding the issue of an Imperial mandate, the menace continued. Finally, on the request of the bishops, an edict was issued commanding the Donatists to meet the Catholics in conference and to find a solution of their differences. The assembly of 286 Catholic bishops and 279 Donatist bishops took place at Carthage in the year 411. Primian of Carthage and Paliam were elected to speak for the Donatists. Augustine and Aurelius spoke for the Catholics. The Proconsul, Marcellinus, presided.

Amidst loud protests and interruptions, Augustine brought forward the question as to whether the Donatist outrages against religious liberty were to be permitted. For several years their followers had become a disorderly rabble. They roamed the country attacking defenceless people, raiding their property, and even committing atrocious murders. Whilst in the eyes of the world they were guilty of unrestrained brutality, they were claiming to be the only elect of Heaven. The Proconsul declared all such terrorist tactics as criminal and punishable by law, and in the name of the

Emperor gave a guarantee of liberty to all who might desire to return to the Catholic fold.

The two most important questions before the council were 'whether the apostate sinner could be saved,' and 'whether Coelian, Bishop of Carthage, was validly consecrated.' On the theological question it was decided by a majority vote that the Church, without losing her holiness, can tolerate sinners within her pale with the hope of converting them. During discussion of the historical question Augustine laid before the assembly documents which were conclusive proof of the validity of Coelian's consecration. One hundred years before a dispute over the consecration ended in a schism which was the origin of Donatism. The schism developed into a medley of errors which the council brought under discussion. Consternation spread amongst the Donatist bishops at the discovery of the consecration documents, and several of them immediately left the assembly. The president condemned the Donatist schism and gave his decision in favour of the Catholic bishops. There was some recrudescence of Donatist outrage, but the heresy gradually lost strength, and Augustine lived to see the day when it had almost entirely disappeared.

In Pelagianism Augustine sensed the most subtle and the most dangerous of the heresies, not only to the ordinary Christian, but to the educated; and it taxed the great resources of his intellect to meet the arguments upon which its adherents based their theories.

Pelagius had met with favour in Rome and had a following of pious and educated people, despite his denial of original sin and the need of grace in the work of man's salvation. Man according to his doctrine was a supernatural being and was beyond the need of supernatural aid. It was his plea that the Church should reform her doctrine on these points. Knowing that his own regeneration was entirely due to the help of God's grace, Augustine held the conviction from the beginning that Pelagius was propagating a heresy that struck at the very foundations of Christianity, and the doctrine of Grace began to occupy his whole mind. During his study and his search for proofs, he produced his work *On the Consequences of Sin, Forgiveness, and Infant Baptism*.

Later, when he had before him the writing of Pelagius on *The Nature of Man*, he compiled his answer to it in his work entitled *On Nature and Grace*. He shows that the logical inference of the Pelagian arguments was that man was completely independent of God in the work of his salvation.

In those days news of events was carried slowly. When Augustine heard that Pelagius had gone to Palestine to propagate his doctrine, he sent his learned confrère, Paul Orosius, to Jerusalem. Orosius confronted Pelagius in an assembly of the bishops with the opinions of Augustine, but he only answered contemptuously, saying: 'What does Augustine matter to me?' Out of respect for the 'Light of the African Church' the prelates withheld their judgement and decided to refer the matter to Rome. Pelagius, smarting under his defeat, made another effort to gain the ratification of some assembly of bishops, and succeeded at Diospolis. After this Augustine followed him relentlessly, writing again on 'the matter of Pelagius,' and exposing the heretical theories at the councils of Carthage and Milevum.

Writing to Pope Innocent on the decisions of the African bishops, he says: 'We take our stand against the enemies of Christ's Grace who rely upon their own strength, and as it were dare say to our Creator: "Thou hast made us man; but we have made ourselves righteous."' ¹ They hold that human nature is competent to find a refuge for itself without the aid of a Liberator, and deem themselves so hale and healthy as to consider a Saviour superfluous. Forthwith Pelagius was declared a heretic; but the controversy did not end here. When Pope Zosimus came to the chair of Peter, Pelagius presented an humble protestation that he would submit to the papal judgement, and he succeeded in having a rebuke forwarded to the African bishops. Pope Zosimus was a Greek, and was evidently unacquainted with the full details of the controversy. Later, the Pope, realising the importance of the African decisions, commanded the Pelagians to appear before him and defend their doctrine, but realising the risk of dealing with Augustine's arguments they took the prudent step of leaving the eternal city. The result was the enforcement of the ban of Pope Innocent.

¹ Let. 177.

In his writings against Pelagius, and in his development of the doctrine of Grace, it is said that Augustine displays the characteristics of the Fathers from Athanasius to Gregory. Uttering his immortal dictum, '*Causa finita est*,' he declares the matter finished through the pronouncement of the Church; 'I would that in this way the heresy might also be concluded. To this object we exhort the wandering ones to give their attention; we instruct that they may be able to discern; we pray for them that they may change their disposition.'¹

No man since St. Paul trod such perilous paths in exploring the mystery of Grace. His doctrinal deductions became the basis of the theological system of the Universal Church. It was recognised at this time that no man had gone deeper into the complex problems of error and truth. Hence his contemporaries gave him the first place amongst the great scholars of Christendom, a place which he was destined to hold for all time. The high esteem in which he was held by the Roman pontiffs is expressed by St. Celestine when he says: 'My predecessors have always placed Augustine in the first ranks of the masters.' Peter the Venerable voices the opinion of the Middle Ages when he says: 'Sentiment gave Augustine the first place after the Apostles.' In modern times Bossuet beautifully expresses the popular feeling towards the Saint. 'Since the days of the Apostles,' he says, 'Augustine has not been surpassed; he is the eagle of the Doctors, the star of extraordinary brilliancy in the firmament of the Church.'

Whilst defending the sacred deposit of truth against the heresies, Augustine had to turn his mind to the defence of Christianity against the pagan element of the population. In 410 the Barbarians under Alaric captured and sacked the city of Rome. The disaster was viewed with consternation by Christian and pagan alike. Refugees carried tidings from Italy which gave the impression that the Empire had collapsed, and that the victorious Goths were turning their eyes towards Africa. Out of the terror that spread through the province rose the monster head of dormant paganism, hurling blasphemous accusations against Christianity, and

¹ Serm. 131.

clamouring for the restoration of the temples and the return of the worship of the ancient gods. Augustine answered : 'Had Christ destroyed Rome ? Had the gods of wood and stone protected it ? ' ¹ Preaching, admonishing, comforting, with tireless energy he defended the lofty ideals and principles for which Christianity always stood in the world. He reassured the population and bade them place themselves under the protecting Providence of God, who watches even over the birds of the air. Those who would drag the world back to paganism could not prove that the gods of Rome, whose altars blazed with sacrifice before the coming of Christ, had always protected the people from misfortune. In pre-Christian ages Rome had suffered many disasters.

It was at this time that Augustine conceived the idea of the *City of God*. In this monumental work he wrote on the problems that would always engage the minds of men ; on the events that make up the histories of peoples ; on the peace of God which human souls would find only in the Christian Church. From a doctrinal and historical standpoint, he looks across the ages, from the creation to the coming of the Redeemer ; and from the redemption, he gazes through the mists of time towards the end of all things. He has before his mind two cities, the city of the world and the ' City of God.' The ' City of God ' alone was destined to endure for ever, because it was of Divine origin, and the city of an imperishable faith.

¹ Serm. 105, 12.

CHAPTER II

AUGUSTINE'S EARLY ASSOCIATES

IN his letters Augustine refers to several of his companions in the hermitages, some of whom were associated with him during his whole life. In his sermon to 'The Hermits,' which was probably composed at Hippo before his consecration as Bishop, he says: 'And thus I came to Africa, my pious mother being dead, and, as you see, I raised up a monastery, where we live in solitude apart from the world, and where it has pleased God to gather round me a hundred brethren.'¹ Amongst these were Alipius, Evodius, Possidius, Hilary of Arles, Paul Orosius, Leporius of Carthage, Leporius, a writer of distinction, Profuturus, Profuturus of Numedia, Paulinus, Privatus, Servilius, Fortunatus, Licentius, Parthensius, Eudoxius, Valentinus, Novatus, Benevatus, Servilius, Seocrus, Urbanus and Antonius. Little is known of Seocrus (or Seocratus) except that he was Bishop of Milevum. Urbanus was Bishop of Sicla, and Antonius Bishop of Fussala.

Alipius.

SS. Alipius and Evodius were Augustine's most devoted companions. They were natives of Tagasta, and in boyhood's days their attachment began in the public schools of the town. Alipius followed Augustine to Carthage, where family wealth enabled him to participate freely in the dissipated life of the great city. Augustine's more serious outlook upon life had a sobering influence upon him in time, and he began to apply himself more industriously to his studies, until he succeeded in gaining his diploma in rhetoric and law. It was his parents' desire that he should follow law as a profession.

¹ Sermon 26, *Ad Fratres in Eremito*.

From Carthage they sent him to Rome, where he had influential friends, and where it was hoped that he would work his way into cultured society and Imperial court circles; but the intrigue and corruption which he found in the administration of justice there was a shock to his honesty and his ambitions.

When, later, Augustine himself came to Rome to teach rhetoric for a living, he found Alipius, 'who was bound to him by a most strong tie.' 'He clung to me,' says Augustine, 'and accompanied me to Milan, both that he might not leave me and that he might practise something of Law, more with a view of pleasing his parents than himself.'

Augustine pays a high tribute to Alipius' nobility of character when speaking of his experiences at Rome. 'Thrice,' he says, 'he sat as an accessor with an uncorruptedness wondered at by others. There was at that time a most potent senator to whose favour many were indebted, and of whom also many stood in fear. He would fain, by his accustomed power, have a thing granted him which was forbidden by the laws. This Alipius resisted. A bribe was offered. He scorned it with all his heart. Threats were employed; he trampled these under foot. He that is faithful in little things is faithful also in great things. He at that time did cling to me, and wavered in purpose as I did, regarding what course of life was to be taken.'¹

Augustine and Alipius proceeded together to Milan, where they followed their respective professions and where they delved for 'truth' in Platonic philosophy and idealism, and where they shared in each other's conflict of soul. The day on which Augustine, yielding to grace, took the resolve to embrace Christianity, Alipius was standing near. Augustine could not hide his emotions from him. Alipius saw him prostrate in tears and heard him crying: 'How long, O Lord, how long hast Thou waited for me. How long have I been saying to-morrow, to-morrow? Why not now make an end to my uncleanness!' A voice from Heaven directed Augustine's attention to a book of the gospels. He rose up, still agitated and weeping, and opening it his eyes fell upon the words which confirmed his resolve. 'Not in rioting and

¹ Conf. VI, 10.

drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities.' Alipius, touched by the emotion of his companion, cast his eyes upon the page, following the passage till he read: 'Receive in charity him that is weak in the faith.' It was an admonition to take Augustine's hand and to enter with him the fold of Christ. They mutually agreed to reform their lives on the Christian model, and they immediately prepared for baptism.

'Commiserating our misery, Thou didst come to our rescue by wonderful secret ways.'¹ 'Alipius also planned to be born again with me, in Thee, and being clothed with the humility appropriate to the sacraments, in mortification of the body showed the unusual fortitude to walk barefooted the frozen soil of Italy.'²

They were baptised together by St. Ambrose at Easter, 387. The day was one of rejoicing, and in their new life they laid their plans for returning to Africa, where they would spend their days together in penance and prayer, and in the service of God and His Church.

Alipius entered the hermitage of Tagasta, where he was Augustine's associate for some time. When the new foundation was established at Carthage Alipius was chosen as its Superior. In one of his letters³, and also in the *Retract*,⁴ Augustine refers to this monastery, the establishment of which was due to the liberality of Parthenius, 'Sanctum fratrem et conservum nostrum.' It was situated outside the city walls and close to the sea. It was destroyed during the Vandal persecutions, and several of the brethren suffered martyrdom. Augustine paid a visit here after his ordination, and Alipius was confirmed in his office as Superior. The closest bond of union existed between the three Hermit establishments, Hippo, Tagasta, and Carthage. Alipius was promoted to the priesthood soon after his appointment, and he ruled over the brethren at Carthage till his consecration as Bishop of Tagasta.

Augustine employed Alipius in various embassies. Whilst at Carthage he commissioned him to carry letters to St. Jerome at Jerusalem. On his return journey he visited Rome, where he had an interview with Pope Zosimus in connection with the Pelagian disputes. He was one of the four bishops

¹ Conf. XII.² Conf. IX.³ Let. 64.⁴ c. 23.

deputed to meet the Donatists in public controversy at Carthage. He was chosen to accompany Valerius to Ravenna with a petition to the Emperor Honorius asking him to put restraint upon the aggressive activities of the Donatists and Pelagians, and to protect the liberties of his Catholic subjects in the African province. On this occasion he was received with marked respect and honour by Pope Boniface, who entrusted him with letters of Julian the Apostate which he wished Augustine to refute.

Like Augustine, Alipius was fearless and indefatigable in the defence of the Faith against the sectarians of the time, yet he was ever striving with charity for Christian union. In his sermons he did not spare the feelings of the Donatists who were continuously stirring up their adherents to acts of revolting fanaticism and outrage. 'The religion of Christ,' he proclaimed, 'is a religion of love. They are making it a religion of hate.'

On his appointment as chief pastor of his native town, he turned his attention to the poor ecclesiastical buildings which he found there. With the help of the wealthy Melania family, recommended to his paternal care by St. Paulinus of Nola, he was soon able to put his church in a condition in keeping with the dignity of Christian worship. On the site of Augustine's villa he also raised a new monastery with accommodation for eighty brethren. St. Melania bestowed her wealth freely, and to add to her generous benefactions she built a convent at Tagasta for one hundred and thirty sisters, who assumed the title of 'Hermit Sisters.'

Augustine lauds in the highest terms the great progress at Tagasta, which he warmly attributed to Alipius' zeal. 'In the tranquil prosperity which you enjoy we do with lively warmth of affection participate in no small measure, when tidings so frequently reach us of the gifts possessed by the highly spiritual Church of Tagasta.'¹

An unfortunate incident which occurred at Hippo caused serious trouble to Augustine and Alipius. The wealth of the Melania family had become generally known to the people, and while they were on a visit to the Church of Hippo, the congregation strove to extract a promise from Pinian,

¹ Let. 29.

St. Melania's husband, to remain with them either as a presbyter or a resident. It appears that despite his objection he was forced, under threat of violence, to give his word to remain. Whether a promise extracted under such circumstances was binding, became the subject of a protracted discussion between Augustine and Alipius. Augustine, writing to Alipius on the sanctity of oaths, maintained that if inevitable death were threatened to compel a servant of God to swear that he would do something forbidden by law, human and divine, it would be his duty to prefer death to such an oath. But in this case, in which the determined clamour of the people, and only this, was forcing a man, not to a crime, but to that which if it were done would be lawfully done ; where, moreover, there was indeed apprehension lest some reckless men, such as are mixed even with good men, should through love of rioting break out into deeds of violence ; who can affirm that it is lawful to commit a deliberate act of perjury in order to escape from uncertain consequences ?¹

In Letter 126 Augustine defends himself from blame on the occasion by refusing to ordain Pinian against his will. ' The people,' he says, ' did clamorously utter many opprobrious and unworthy reproaches against my brother Alipius, for which great sin I desire that they may obtain pardon.' Alipius himself was witness to the threatened violence and the mob tactics of the people, and Augustine had to protect him.

Pinian and his wife, Melania, occupied an important position in Roman society and were the heirs to enormous wealth. While the Barbarians were encircling the tottering walls of Rome and were extending their conquest south, this devout couple enfranchised their slaves, bestowed a great deal of their property upon churches and monasteries and the poor, and with other fugitive citizens of the empire sought shelter in Africa. They settled at Tagasta, where the Church and the people benefited much by their generosity. Taking a vow of continency Pinian became a Hermit, and Melania a sister in the convent. Despite their position and wealth they humbled themselves to the life and work of the cloister. Pinian laboured with the Hermits in their garden, Melania worked at the transcription of manuscripts. After

¹ Let. 35.

seven years they both set out on a pilgrimage to the holy places, where they continued their religious life and observances and where they both remained, owing to the incursion of the Vandals and the destruction of the religious houses in Africa. Pinian died at Jerusalem in 435, and Melania in 439. During these later years of their lives they enjoyed the friendship of St. Jerome, who, in a letter to St. Augustine, called them 'our own holy children.'

Alipius outlived Augustine and witnessed the worst scenes of Vandal terrorism and destruction. He would not desert his people and he suffered a living martyrdom at the hands of his persecutors, and died amidst the ruins of his monastery. He was noted for his integrity and honour, his gentleness of manner, his profound erudition, and for the rigorous penances which he continually practised from the day on which he first embraced the Hermit life. He displayed the keenest interest in procuring new foundations for his order in Africa, and it is probable that the establishment of the first European hermitage was due to his activities.

The conversion of St. Paulinus of Nola is attributed to him. He was under his instruction, and it would seem that Alipius prepared him for baptism. 'He invested him with the habit and girdle,' and, under the rule of St. Augustine, Paulinus founded a Hermit house at Nola.

Evodius.

Evodius was a native of Tagasta and a contemporary of St. Augustine and Alipius. His family had acquired great wealth in their African possessions, and made lavish use of it to promote his worldly career. To gratify his parents' ambitions he became an officer in the Imperial army, but, being intellectually gifted and refined, he soon conceived a decided dislike for arms and the rough and strenuous life of the soldier. He resigned his commission and attached himself to the Imperial court as an 'agent of affairs.' These agents were employed as messengers and ambassadors of the Emperor, but their chief employment was to superintend the collection of tributes in the different countries under the Imperial yoke.

In time we find him relinquishing this position also. He left Rome and came to Milan, where he found Augustine and Alipius. He joined their circle and took up the study of the scriptures. He had watched the progress of Christianity at Rome, and its appeal grew stronger under critical study, and whilst Augustine and Alipius tarried in their resolves, Evodius was unobtrusively receiving instruction as a catechumen. He was baptised, and then quietly, and to the surprise of his friends, announced himself a Christian.

He was at Cassiacum when Augustine and his friends proposed to return to Africa, and he expressed a wish to accompany them. He shared in Augustine's sorrows at Ostia, for he admired the saintliness of Monica. Augustine tells us that as he closed his mother's eyes, it was Evodius who tried to lift their hearts and thoughts to Heaven. 'He took up the Psalter and began to sing, our whole household answering him in the psalm "I will sing of mercy and judgment to Thee, O Lord."'¹ Evodius apparently knew of the Christian custom to sing Psalms 101 and 102 as part of the funeral service. On recognising them as Christians 'many brethren and religious women came together and helped them' to make ready for the burial.

Evodius was one of the first associates of Augustine in the hermitage of Tagasta, and we find him entering upon a life of seclusion which offered him all that he now desired in the world, leisure for study, and the solitary's peace for penance and prayer. Before his conversion he had been making a deep study of prevailing philosophical theories, and the speculations into which he wandered often amused and puzzled Augustine. 'He loved to discuss and to argue with me on things that were occult and obscure.' One of the questions which he put to Augustine was whether the soul departing from the body had not still a body of some kind, or at least some of the senses proper to the body. He also asked Augustine to unravel the difficulty regarding Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison.²

'Together we dwelt with a holy purpose.'³ He accompanied Augustine as one of the community of the new

¹ Conf. XI, 31.

² 1 Peter iii.

³ Conf. VIII.

foundation at Hippo, and here he was promoted to the priesthood soon after Augustine's consecration as Bishop. He was then appointed to the important See of Uzala. The date of his consecration is not known, but he acted in his episcopal capacity in the year 407. He was present at the Council of Carthage. He was one of the bishops appointed to carry an appeal to the Emperor Honorius, then at Constantinople, against the Donatists who had resumed their brutal methods of forcing Catholics into their churches. It is said that on their return they were waylaid by their adversaries, tortured, and held in chains until they had nearly died.

The fear of persecution or outrage did not deter him from taking a conspicuous part in the defence of truth, for we find him in public controversy with the noted Donatist leader, Proclianus. His keen intellect and subtle reasoning made him a dangerous adversary, and few of the heretics could be prevailed upon to face him in public discussion.

It is thought that he suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Donatists, but there is evidence that he lived for twenty years after his encounter with these sectarians, and that he died on October 16, 424. He led a life of great self-denial, was loved by his flock, and was accorded the honour and veneration of a Saint after his death.

Leporius.

There were two men of this name amongst Augustine's Hermits at Hippo, one of whom became Bishop of Carthage, and the other Bishop of Vita in Bethica. Leporius Symere-mitas (of Carthage) was a man of very high position in the world, and had considerable wealth, which he disposed of, in accordance with Augustine's rule, before he was admitted as a member of the Hermit community. It is said that before his formal reception he employed a portion of his wealth in the reconstruction of the monastery and its chapel, and in establishing a hospital. In his sermon 'de diversis' (50), Augustine expresses his admiration of Leporius' vocation. 'Although he was illustrious by birth, and was held in the highest esteem by those amongst whom he was born, yet

he abandoned his position and wealth for the service of God. I received him as one "possessing nothing."

He was one of the priests whom Augustine drew from the Hermit community. 'From amongst those who have undergone probation in the monastery I chose the best for the clerics.' The date of his appointment to the See of Carthage is not given, but it is probable that he succeeded Aurelius about 422. His characteristic humility combined with his gifts of mind and profound erudition made him the choice of the whole African episcopacy for this exalted position, but he lived only for a few years after his consecration. Cardinal Baronius, Marquez, Armenius, and other historians regard the appointment of Leporius to Carthage as a certain fact, but they have not been able to give the date either of his consecration or his death.

The other Leporius was a man who gained distinction in the controversies of his time. He studied deeply the perplexing questions which brought such turmoil into the African Church, and like many others of the clergy who entered into the intellectual conflict, Leporius was deceived by the subtle teachings of Pelagius; but coming in contact with Augustine of Hippo, he accepted the great doctor's opinions and renounced his errors. The stigma of his heretical leanings seems to have clung to him even after he had spent many years in the Hermit life at Hippo; for Flavius, writing of him as Bishop of Vita, says: 'Leporius, for some time a monk of the institution of Augustine, changed his erroneous opinions on the advice of Augustine, his instructor.' At Hippo he devoted himself to study under Augustine's tuition and became, through his fine intellectual gifts, a writer of note and a powerful defender of the truths of the Catholic Church. He was one of the first to detect and to refute the Nestorian heresy.

St. Jerome gives him a place amongst the great Christian writers, whilst Augustine, who set a high value upon his wisdom, introduced him to several of the African councils, where he took part in the various discussions of the bishops. Spanish historians hold his memory in respect and pay a high tribute to his character and zeal.

We find the motive for his leaving the quiet of the her-

mitage of Hippo in his determination to defend the Spanish Church against the Pelagians, and to preach the doctrinal opinions of Augustine in his refutation of that heresy. His virtues as well as his learning commended him to the Spanish episcopacy, and in order to keep him in their councils they elected him to the See of Vita, in the Province of Andalusia.

Marquez and other writers hold that he maintained his identity as a Hermit of Augustine all through his life. He was one of three of Augustine's disciples who were in Spain at that period, but there is no evidence that he had any conspicuous part in the establishment of the order in that country.

Profuturus.

Profuturus, whom Augustine calls his 'beloved disciple of the hermitage,' joined the first community at Hippo, and, becoming an ardent student, collaborated with Augustine in his critical studies and writings. Through zealous industry and perseverance he acquired a vast fund of knowledge, and manifested those qualities of mind which intensified the regard in which Augustine held him. In his letter to St. Jerome, which Profuturus was commissioned to carry to Jerusalem, Augustine calls him his 'alter ego.' Jerome was impressed by his intelligence and ability, and makes affectionate allusion to his short-lived career, for Profuturus died whilst still in the prime of manhood. He is mentioned also in the letters of St. Paulinus, who wrote his congratulations to Augustine on his elevation to the episcopacy.

It would seem that Profuturus was sent to Spain in order to discover for Augustine and Jerome the real trend and character of the Priscillian claims, and the extent to which the heresy had gained adherents, and then to carry the result of his investigations to Jerusalem together with letters from Augustine. He found that the heresy had already been condemned at the Council of Saragossa, nevertheless it was still formidable. Profuturus, as the representative of the great doctor, was respectfully received by the Spanish bishops, and admitted to their assemblies; and so impressed were they with the eloquence and precision in which he gave Augustine's views on the Priscillian-Manichæan dualism,

which was a heresy akin to that which the doctor had already refuted, that they regarded his retention in their councils as of the greatest importance. Profuturus was not long in Spain when, at an assembly of the bishops, he was appointed to the Archiepiscopal See of Braza, which he held for only a few years. His appointment was in the year 398.¹ 'Profuturus, an African priest who came into Spain, and there, because of the lustre of the singular virtues that shone through his gifts of mind, was chosen to succeed Paternes in the See of Braza.'

Marquez holds that Profuturus was one of those sons of Augustine who established his Hermit order beyond the seas, and that St. Possidius had a knowledge of the foundation then existing at Braza. It was known as the monastery of St. Martin of Suade. In later years it was re-established by St. Fructuosus. He also founded the monastery of St. Saviour, near Braza. In Louis de Angelis' history of Braza² it is recorded that a house of the Order was founded there. Rodricus d'Acunam speaks of him as the founder of the Order in Portugal.³

In a letter of Paul Orosius, another of Augustine's disciples, a tribute is paid to the memory of Profuturus and the 'monasticism' which he introduced into his diocese. He speaks of him as 'that holy and venerable man, my fellow-disciple in the hermitage under Augustine,'⁴ and as a contemporary must have applied himself to the work of bringing Profuturus' undertaking to a success.

There has been some confusion amongst chroniclers regarding dates in connection with Profuturus' appointment to the See of Braza, but this was due to inadvertence, owing to the fact that there was another bishop in Africa at that time bearing the same name. This Profuturus was a Numedian bishop whom Cardinal Baronius calls 'Profuturus of Calama,' the diocese to which, some years later, St. Possidius was appointed.⁵

After the death of Megatius, the Numedian primate, Augustine wrote to Profuturus of Calama asking him for his

¹ Peter Julianno, Chronicle, anno 398.

² Herrera, P.

³ *His. Braza*, cap. i, 55.

⁴ Orosius, priest, to Augustine.

⁵ Anno 395, lv, 43.

opinion with regard to a successor to the primacy. He recommended 'Victor, of whom they had already spoken.'

There is nothing in our records to indicate that this bishop (Victor) had any connection with the Hermit communities of Augustine.

Paul Orosius.

Paul Orosius, another of the distinguished disciples of St. Augustine, was probably born at Braza, although some writers, amongst whom we find the historian Flavius Dexter, state that he was 'the son of Lucian Orosius of Tarragona.'

It is generally assumed that he received his early education from a priest of Braza named Avutis, and that he was promoted to the priesthood and took up its sacred duties in that city. Being a man of high intellectual gifts and of studious habits, he probed deeply into the religious questions which agitated the whole Spanish Church at the time; and whilst a great many were wavering in doubt because of the uncertain attitude of the Holy See towards the leaders of the Priscillianists, he held a clear conviction that their doctrines were derived from, and akin to, Manichæism, and could not be reconciled with Scripture.

His intimacy with St. Profuturus, the Augustinian Archbishop of Braza, brought him under the influence of the Augustinian school of scriptural exegesis. The saintly Archbishop, who was recognised as one of the strongest opponents of the Priscillianists, gave him the results of a lifelong study with Augustine, and furnished him with potent argument for the defence of truth. The knowledge thus acquired, combined with his gift of oratory, won for him distinction in the subtle controversies that held the attention of churchmen throughout the whole Spanish peninsula at the time.

His interest in Augustine, whom he came to regard as the inspired genius of the African Church, deepened into a desire to know him personally. In his *Commonitorium* (i) we are told that he repaired to Africa with motives difficult to express. 'It was not for pleasure, nor from necessity,' that he went, yet it is stated that 'he was sent by the Bishops, Eutropius and Paul.'

In the year 414 we find him at Hippo in company with the Hermits of 'the garden.' The penitential austerity of the followers of Augustine, and the peace of the cloister for study and prayer, appealed to him, and he remained in the æsthetic atmosphere of the Hermit retreat for several years, applying himself 'with incredible zeal to the acquisition of sacred knowledge.' One of his letters written to Augustine in after years confirms the assertion that he was one of Augustine's disciples 'in the hermitage,' whilst several authors agree that he was of the same profession and institution as Augustine. Augustine himself refers to him as 'our Orosius, progressing in all the rules of observance, most pious, most devoted to study, most religious and prompt in obedience.'

Augustine, realising the pleasure it would give Orosius to meet the great doctor, St. Jerome, sent him to Jerusalem with letters,¹ and gave him opportunity to discuss with the Saint questions bearing upon 'the soul and its origin.' At Jerusalem he found tense excitement and agitation owing to the propaganda which was being daringly carried on there by Pelagius. Orosius made a sensational entry into the conflict, as he was regarded as the representative of the teachings of Augustine. At a conference summoned by the bishops of Jerusalem, Pelagius barely saved himself from censure, whilst admitting the possibility for man to become perfect and to avoid sin without God's assistance. It would appear that Orosius was charged with the extreme opposite view, 'that it was not possible for man to avoid sin without God's grace.' In order to defend his position and elucidate his argument, he wrote his *Liber apologeticus contra Pelagium de Arbitrii libertate*. With a touching farewell to Jerome, who had moved to a cell in the vicinity of the sacred grotto at Bethlehem, he left for Africa, bearing replies to Augustine's letters. Probably in recognition of Augustine's refutation of the heresiarch, and of the services rendered by Orosius to the Christians of Jerusalem, he was given a large portion of the relics of St. Stephen which had just been discovered at the holy city. These he carried reverently back to Africa.² He also bore letters from Lucian, who had discovered the

¹ Let. 166.

² Genadius, Chron. ; Aug., Let. 28.

relics, and from the Gallic Bishops, Hero and Lazarus, the opponents of the Pelagian heresy.

Some time after his return to Augustine he felt that he would like to go back to his native land, where the Church and her priesthood were suffering at the hands of the Vandals. He reached the island of Minorca on his way, but there he was detained by the bishops because of the twofold danger of falling into the hands of the invaders, or becoming the victim of the Priscillianists, who were watching for his return. He then came back to his old retreat and associates, where, it is thought, he remained in the society of Augustine until the Vandal hordes had carried destruction to the walls of Hippo.

He wrote in the meantime important works, among them being the *Historiarum adversus Paganos*. This work harmonised with Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, and was written under Augustine's inspiration. It consists of seven books. The first book traces the history of mankind from the Deluge to the foundation of Rome. The second deals with the rule of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. The third deals with the Macedonians and contemporary history. The fourth deals with Roman history up to the fall of Carthage; whilst the three last books review the history of the times following the Roman settlement in Africa. The main idea developed throughout his pages was to show how Almighty God determines the destinies of peoples and empires. The work was highly esteemed by the schools of the Middle Ages, and many copies are extant.

He was present at the death of Augustine, and when the brethren had laid the Saint to rest, he joined them in their flight into exile. He is said to have spent the remainder of his life closely associated with a community that settled at Carthagina on the Spanish coast. He died at the age of a hundred in 471, and his remains were carried to Rome, where he was buried beside his father in the Church of Eusebius.¹

¹ Herrera, P., 226.

Paulinus.

There are several historical authors who place St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, amongst the Hermit followers of St. Augustine. St. Ambrose,¹ Ilescas,² Nolanus,³ and Cardinal Baronius⁴ place him amongst the illustrious followers of St. Augustine, whilst they regard the monasticism which he founded in Italy as distinctly Augustinian in its character.

Paulinus was born at Bordeaux about 354. His family held a high social position in the empire, and he was afforded all the educational advantages of the age. Coming to man's estate, he married and took up the public office of Governor of the Province of Campania. His wife was a Spanish Christian lady of great piety, to whose virtues and prayers may be attributed his conversion from paganism. He was received into the Christian Church and was baptised by Delphinus, Bishop of Bordeaux, together with a brother, who also embraced the teachings of Christ. Soon afterwards family misfortune and the death of his only child robbed him of his interest in the world, and he and his wife mutually agreed to enter the monastic life. They retired to Spain about the year 390, and four years later, it is said, Paulinus was ordained priest at Barcelona—an incident which is involved in some mystery. Paulinus and his wife settled at Nola soon afterwards, and there we find them engaged together in works of public charity and piety, inspired by their devotion to St. Felix, a saint through whose intercession Paulinus had received many spiritual favours.

Paulinus was brought into contact with the Hermits through Alipius, who first met him at Milan, and who was his guest at Nola when journeying on his episcopal commissions to Italy. It is said that it was from him that Paulinus received the habit and girdle of the Order. Alipius was also the bearer of letters between Paulinus and Augustine. As one of these letters is addressed to Paulinus and the lady Theresia in 397, three years after the incident at Barcelona, it would appear that the Saint had not taken up the ascetic life until after that date. At that time we find him disposing of his worldly possessions in the erection and

¹ Ad Sabinus Epis.² His. Pont.³ *Lib.* III, 41.⁴ A.D. 395.

beautifying of the Cathedral of Nola, in the construction of a public aqueduct and hospital, and of a monastery, where he contemplated spending the remainder of his life as a recluse.

In his letters to Augustine we see the affectionate esteem in which Paulinus held his great contemporary, his high appreciation of the writings of Augustine, and the great desire which he had to see him personally. Crusenius, Marquez, and others say that Paulinus visited Augustine, and quote the 'letter to Macedonius' in which Paulinus intimates that 'he had seen Augustine, the seraph inflamed with the Divine love,' and the letter¹ in which Augustine writes 'as when speaking to me some time since, you said to me . . .'

St. Gregory records an incident in which St. Paulinus was brought to Africa in chains. He had given himself up to captivity in order to procure the liberty of a widow's son.² After the sack of Rome Alaric's barbarians went southwards. Amongst other towns, they sacked Nola, and sold many of its inhabitants into slavery.³ Augustine refers to this captivity, and voluntary exile, of Paulinus; and the passage is taken as a proof of a meeting, and of conversation, between the two saints after Paulinus had regained his freedom.

'Paulinus,' says Augustine, 'voluntarily abandoned wealth and became quite poor. When the barbarians were sacking Nola, he used silently to pray, as he afterwards told me: "O Lord, let me not be troubled for gold or silver, for where my treasure is, Thou knowest."' Both Augustine and Paulinus were bishops when this momentous meeting took place; but it is said that Paulinus had paid a previous visit to Augustine while he was living with his Hermit brethren at Hippo, and that this was the visit that decided his vocation.

It was after his first visit to Augustine that he proceeded to Spain, where he disposed of his estates and established a hermitage at Merida and one in Minorca. The hermitage at Nola was the first institute of its kind in Italy.

After leading a rigorous monastic life for about eight years, Paulinus was chosen Bishop of Nola in 409. Although he could no longer remain in seclusion, he maintained a close association with his brethren and, like Augustine, drew many

¹ 249.² *Lib.* III, 1, Dioso.³ *In Civitas Dei* (i, 10).

of them into the public ministry. He was a man of intellectual ability, and during the years as a solitary he produced some writings of remarkable erudition. He is mentioned by Gennadius amongst 'the illustrious men' of the age. Many of his ascetic works have been lost. Forty-nine letters and some poems are extant. His lyrics, in which he has glorified the life and miracles of St. Felix, are full of very beautiful religious feeling. In one of his letters¹ he describes with a mild enthusiasm the magnificence of the Basilica of Nola, whilst in another he has left us very important information concerning the Church of St. Peter at Rome at that time.

During his life he was regarded as a saint, and after death his memory was held in the greatest reverence. He was first interred at Nola. Later his remains were brought to Benevento and then to the Church of St. Bartolomeo all' Isola in Rome. Finally, in 1908, they were restored to Nola.

St. Hilary

St. Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, was the son of a noble Roman family of Northern Gaul, and was born about the year 401. He belonged to a class whose attitude towards Christianity was still antagonistic. Hence Hilary was educated under pagan influences, whilst family wealth and social position exposed him to all the evil allurements and temptations of his day. His conversion to Christianity was due, after a desperate resistance, to the prayers and solicitations of his close friend and kinsman, St. Honoratus. Some time previous to Hilary's conversion Honoratus had abandoned his worldly career, and had retired to Lérins to lead a Cenobite life. Prevailing upon Hilary to visit him there, the Divine Grace touched his heart; and with the deepest feelings of sincerity and fervour, he embraced the teachings of Christianity. 'Here,' says St. Prosper, 'he stripped himself of all his possessions, that he might follow Christ in nakedness.'

At Lérins he heard of Augustine and his Hermit brethren in Africa, and yielding to a strong desire to visit the doctor whose writings against the dissentient sects of the age were known throughout the Western Church, he set out on the

¹ Sulpicius Severus.

toilsome journey to Hippo. He was touched by the kindly reception accorded him, and the admiration and affection which grew up between him and Augustine held him there for several years. He left only when constrained to return to France on account of family matters connected with his sister, Pimeniola. She and her husband were about to abandon paganism.

Later we find him with St. Honoratus at Lérins where, according to the most accredited writers, he reorganised the religious life on the Hermit rule of St. Augustine.

Whilst admitting that Hilary devoted himself to the establishment of the Hermit life at Lérins, some writers of note make no distinct reference to its Augustinian character. Cardinal Baronius, speaking of the monasticism of Lérins, remarks that the only rule that was being adopted by religious associations in the Western Church was that of St. Augustine.¹ Hilary's letter to Augustine, contained in the seventh volume of the Louvain edition,² points to the fact that he had been a disciple at Hippo. He writes expressing his keen regret at having been exiled from Augustine, whom he addressed as 'Your Holiness, and my Brother.' 'My pain is great,' he says, 'inasmuch as I am exiled from the joys of your presence, and from your conversations by which I was nourished.'³ Crusenius⁴ and a number of other historical writers maintain that there is ample historical evidence that Hilary, after having been a voluntary subject and disciple of Augustine for seven years, remained faithful to his vocation as a Hermit of the Augustinian rule, and that the monasticism of Lérins, reorganised under his authority, was characteristically Augustinian. When Honoratus was chosen Archbishop of Arles, Hilary directed the destinies of the community, until he himself was called to the same dignity.

When Honoratus was dying⁵ Hilary came to his bedside to assist him in his last moments. After he had witnessed the last rites at the graveside, he hastened away on his journey homewards. He was followed by the people, who knew of his great sanctity, and brought back by force to

¹ Anno 416.

² p. 546.

³ Marquez, 136, 1.

⁴ Cap. XII, 39.

⁵ A.D. 428.

Arles, where they proclaimed him their archbishop. Finding entreaty and tears of no avail, he reluctantly submitted to his consecration and took up the duties of his exalted pastorate in a manner that won the veneration of priests and people. Humility shone through all his actions and if, in the administration of the diocese, he was rigorous at times, it was because of the rigours of his own life and of his high conception of the holiness of the priestly office. He preached with an impressive but simple eloquence, and gave instructions to the illiterate, whilst his charity towards the poor often reached the bounds of privation in his own household.

In his zeal for discipline he felt it his duty to depose one of his canons. This individual, in exasperation, carried his complaint to Rome. In his patience and humility, Hilary made no defence, and when the Pope had obviously judged his action on the reports that the canon had given him, Hilary resigned the archbishopric—some say he was suspended—and retired to spend his life amongst the brethren at Lérins. Pope Leo, though he may have had reason to justify his attitude, nevertheless signified his admiration for Hilary afterwards, for he refers to him as ‘Hilary of holy memory.’

The restrictive rights of the Metropolitan and the Holy See were not very definitely defined at this period of the Church’s history as Hilary evidently over-estimated his powers. ‘With the humility of the Hermit,’ says Marquez, ‘he knew how to submit.’ Whilst an archbishop he continued the penitent life of the cloisters, and went through his diocese barefooted even when snow was thick on the ground. He lived in the hearts of his people, to whom he never gave a reason for his withdrawal from their midst. He devoted his last days to study and writing. To his pen we owe the life of St. Honoratus, the founder of Lérins. A number of his writings exist : we do not know how much has been lost. The date of his death is given in Herrera as 449.

Nebredius.

Chroniclers give Blessed Nebredius a place amongst Augustine’s companions, although it is not certain that he became a Hermit. He was a rich youth from Carthage.

Augustine, who wrote him several letters, calls him his 'sweet friend, whom the great mercy of God had rescued from paganism.' He was possessed of remarkable talent and was a keen apostle of Truth. He was evidently received into the Christian fold some time before Augustine, and had given himself up to solitude and prayer in order to obtain from God the conversion of his parents and their African household. His attachment to Augustine induced him to leave Africa and to join him at Milan. 'Leaving his paternal estates, his home, and mother,' says Augustine, 'he came to Milan that he might abide with me, and join in my search for truth and wisdom.' Complying with the wishes of Augustine, he professed grammar for Veracundus, 'not that he needed the salary, but because of our friendship.'

After Augustine's conversion he returned to Africa where, we are told, he served God in perfect continency. In his letters he discusses religious and philosophical matters, infinite happiness, and problems of the soul. The correspondence between Augustine and himself, which is preserved, shows how learnedly he could discuss the important religious questions of the day. He died whilst a very young man. In his *Confessions* Augustine gives expression to his grief at his early death.

Possidius.

Possidius came from one of the Numedian towns. He was of European descent, and was probably in his twentieth year when Augustine received him into the Tagastan retreat. In the text of his *Life of Augustine* he tells us of his 'resolve to serve without fail the Divine and Omnipotent Trinity, in faith, and in the grace of the Saviour.' As a lay-brother he began 'his life in religion.' 'Through the Divine Grace which nourished his soul,' says Augustine, 'he embraced our institution and persevered in it.' It is not known whether he was a Christian or a pagan when the Cenobite community established at Tagasta attracted him. He came with the feeling that in the companionship of these scholarly and ascetic men he would find that conviction of faith to which his soul aspired. In the retirement of the hermitage he broke with the ties of a world that he had come to despise,

and became so attached to Augustine that he was called his 'other self.' He was in close association with Augustine for the forty years of their life at Hippo. He was capable and energetic, and served his master in many ways, sometimes in embassies of the greatest importance.

He came to Hippo where, it appears, he was the first superior of the 'hermitage in the garden.' As far as we can judge, from his own words, this hermitage had all the characteristics of the establishment at Tagasta. There, after the fashion of the Cenobite monks of Rome, the community lived in the lay state, or as 'lay-brothers, having with them a priest whose principal duty was to offer the Holy Sacrifice and to administer the Sacraments.' In the new hermitage Augustine acted in the capacity of the priest up to the time of his consecration; and when separated from them by his high office of Bishop of Hippo he still took a paternal interest in all that concerned them, and they regarded him as their father and founder.

Possidius was nominally superior up to this time, and in order that he might take Augustine's place in the large community that had grown around him, one of Augustine's first acts on his elevation to the episcopacy was to ordain his 'pious brother and companion' to the priesthood. Though Augustine may have called Possidius to share the burden of the public ministry occasionally, it did not preclude him from his duty to his brethren, or from his religious observances as a Hermit. The precept of Innocent I was known in Africa at this time. It required amongst other things 'that all religious called from the monasteries and ordained to the clerical state should still adhere to their religious vocation.'¹

A great silence enshrouds the monastic life of Africa, a silence in which men hidden from the world laboured for God alone. We know but little of Possidius, or of his life's activities, until he emerges from his monastic obscurity. His appointment to the episcopal See of Calama took place, according to Tillemont and other writers, about the year 397. Then his services to the African Church became matter of public interest, and the historian follows him with closer

¹ Epis. Victricius, 2.

attention. Calama was not far from Hippo, and there was frequent and friendly intercourse between Augustine and his 'beloved disciple.'

We find Possidius engaged in the contest with the heretics of the time, and at the Council of Carthage where the Donatists were condemned he was one of the Catholic bishops who took a prominent part in the defence of the dogmas of the Church. When returning to Calama after this council, he was publicly attacked by a cleric who was a follower of the Donatists, and was cruelly beaten. The Donatist Bishop Crispinus, whom he had defeated during the controversy, was held responsible for instigating this cowardly violence, and he was prosecuted according to the public laws and heavily fined. Possidius, in that Christian charity which was unknown to the heretics, intervened with the magistrate, and Crispinus was relieved from the obligation of paying the fine.

In 407 Possidius was appointed with other bishops to adjudicate on ecclesiastical matters, the nature of which are unknown, and in 409 he was one of a deputation of bishops sent to the Emperor at Verona to claim the protection of the laws against the Donatists and pagans in Africa. He was also one of the seven bishops chosen to represent the Catholics at the 'Collatio' in 411. He was present at the Council of Milevum, from which the bishops of Numidia addressed a joint letter to Pope Innocent I, counselling action against the Pelagian heresy.

The Christians of Africa retained many of their old pagan superstitions and customs. Men still wore little gold rings in the top of their ears, and women painted their faces, and adorned their persons with ornaments and amulets that were pagan in their symbolism. One day Possidius, in stirring eloquence, condemned these superstitions. Unfortunately he chose the time of the pagan 'floral fêtes' for this denunciation, with the result that it provoked the pagan mob to violence. The mob tried to burn down the church, and in their mad orgies murdered one of the priests. It appears that the soldiers and their officers stationed in the town were all pagans, and refrained from interfering. The pagans searched for Possidius, and he had a miraculous escape. Augustine

in his letter to Nectarius¹ complains that the Bishop had to conceal himself in a crevice into which he forced his body with difficulty, and in which he had to lie folded double, while he listened to the cries of the villains who were threatening his death, and who were furious at not finding him. Augustine condemned the laxity so evident on the part of the authorities whose duty it was to prevent such an outrage. In defiance of established law the pagans on this occasion carried out their rites before the doors of the church, to the indignation of both priests and Christians of every sect. When the news reached Hippo Augustine came with haste to Calama in order to comfort Possidius, and to use his authority in averting further calamity. He preached in the church on several days. It was on this occasion that Augustine said to Possidius: 'Attend rather to the interior beautifying and purifying of the souls of the people.' It was a salutary counsel to use common sense and prudence in denouncing customs still clung to by the Roman Africans.

Soon afterwards Crispinus, the Donatist bishop, provoked a dispute and, 'the master having departed,' Possidius challenged the heretic to public controversy. He was present at Hippo later when Augustine disputed publicly before Christians, Donatists, and Catholics, with the Donatist Bishop, Emeritus. On every occasion Possidius proved himself a clever disputant and enjoyed the admiration of Augustine, who says: 'He was not instructed in worldly knowledge, but was nourished with the bread of life.' He became a prominent figure in the many conferences of the African Church, and as leader of the embassy to the Emperor Honorius his influence was instrumental in having the state laws energetically enforced in the African province, where the Catholics had been for several years the victims of the savage brutality of the Donatists.

Calama stood in the fertile hinterland of Mauritania, over which the Vandal hordes came pouring with locust-like devastation. Blackened, smouldering ruins lay in the track of the vast barbarian army. Possidius' episcopal city, being undefended, was abandoned by the people, and the grief-stricken bishop came to Hippo to tell Augustine of those

¹ Let. 91.

happenings which brought tears to his eyes, and added to the weight of sorrow that bowed down his grey hairs.

In his *Life of Augustine* he weaves together the touching incidents that marked the passing of the great Doctor of the Church. No one knew Augustine more intimately than he. They had lived in a 'most sweet friendship' that had never seen a moment of embitterment during a long stretch of forty years. It must have been comforting to the dying man to feel that he was near during his last moments on earth.

During the eleven months of the siege of Hippo, fugitives carried tidings of fresh calamities that had befallen the country; of the plunder and burning of the churches, convents, and monasteries; of priests and bishops slain; and of virgins and hermits, vowed to continency, being sold into slavery. The details were so harrowing that at length Possidius and his brother bishops discussed them secretly amongst themselves and refrained from reporting them to Augustine, who died during the eleventh month of the siege.

After the hurried obsequies and the burial in the church of St. Stephen, Possidius, accompanied by other bishops, left Hippo, and making their way up the coast proceeded to Carthage. Hippo at this time was the third most important city in the province and was nobly defended by Count Boniface, the governor, and his army of confederate Goths. After fourteen months of resistance, finding his communications cut off, he fought his way out through the Vandal lines and retired to Carthage.

The town fell into the hands of the invader and was plundered and burnt to the ground. The ruins of its dead glory lie buried still beneath sands and wild growths that have been accumulating during the centuries. Possidius lived for ten years after his beloved master. St. Prosper tells us that he went back to Calama, where he gathered together some remnants of his flock. Risking, if not seeking, martyrdom, he preached there against Arianism. This being reported to Genseric, orders were given for his capture, but he providentially escaped and went into exile with his hermit brethren about 437. He must have turned his steps to Italy, where he spent the remainder of his days. He is

venerated as Patron of Mirandola, and is commemorated there in the Divine Liturgy. Herrera¹ says that 'Philip Ferrar places him in his martyrology with the record, "Possidius, Bishop of Calama, disciple of St. Augustine, is mentioned in documents preserved in the churches of Mirandola and Regensis."' "

It would appear that Possidius commenced to write his *Life of Augustine* during his sojourn at Hippo, and that he finished it at Carthage. He considered it his duty as a disciple of the 'Beloved Priest' to record the things which he had witnessed in his life work, and which would have been forgotten, as Augustine had not touched upon them in his *Confessions*. In this lies the great value of his biography. Written in a peculiarly involved style, so different from that of Augustine and of other writers of the times, the work is absolutely free from extravagant phraseology. He speaks of simple facts, and he allows these to speak for themselves, whilst his profound love of truth is apparent throughout. In his knowledge of Augustine's influence on contemporary thought and doctrine, and in the vast output of his labours, he foresaw the glory and fame that would grow around his memory during the years to come. He knew how important was the heritage which the great doctor was leaving to posterity, and it was his first duty after the close of his life to gather up and authenticate all the writings that he had left. Before he had finished his biography at Carthage he had arranged and tabulated them, for he closed the work with a long list of writings, and tells us of the many letters that had been lost. 'Inspired by the Holy Ghost,' he says, 'the Holy Bishop Augustine has written for the instruction of human souls, in the form of books, pamphlets, and letters, 1030 works, besides many others not counted'; because he himself found it impossible to gather or to remember them all.

Possidius holds the honour of having written the first of the many Lives of Augustine. It is to Possidius and his hermit brethren that posterity owes its gratitude for the preservation of Augustine's writings. Were it not for their industry and zeal his works might have been irretrievably lost. When escaping from Hippo they must have clearly

¹ P., 228.

anticipated the danger of leaving the precious tomes behind. The thousand and thirty works catalogued by Possidius at Carthage would lead us to assume that he had the originals of Augustine's library at hand. There is no evidence whatever that the library was saved by the Vandals. They were Arians who regarded Augustine as their chief antagonist. Even assuming that the Arian clergy set any estimate upon the literary value of a great writer's work, and were ready to put their sectarian hate aside, it would have been scarcely possible for them to check the vengeful barbarian in his mad orgy of plunder and destruction when the city was captured. The churches and ecclesiastical buildings were all involved in the general conflagration. Possidius tells us that the Vandals left the whole city in ashes.

There was no one at that tragic time who valued the writings of Augustine more highly than his Hermits, and as it was part of their daily occupation to transcribe manuscripts, they must have made numbers of copies for their libraries.

CHAPTER III

DESTRUCTION OF THE AFRICAN MONASTERIES

WHILE exiled Hermits were establishing new homes in Italy and Spain, their history in Africa was closing in the martyrdom of those who remained behind. Victor of Vita leaves us the harrowing details of the tortures of the sisterhood of Carthage, and of the Hermits of Capsa and Trabracene.

Laden with spoil and satiated with sacrilege, Genseric, the Vandal leader, decided to make the capital his stronghold in Africa, and ordered his followers to spare the public buildings. There were five monasteries in the vicinity of Carthage, the Bigue for men, the convent of St. Stephen for women, and, some distance away, the monasteries of Trabracene (Trabraca), Capsa, and Idedense. The communities in these houses thought it their duty to remain until they were expelled. As they watched the sad exodus of their brethren they must have felt that the day was not very far distant when the sword of sectarian hate would be turned against them. The closing page of the history of African monasticism is written in the blood of these heroic men and women.

No sooner had the victors consolidated their ascendancy at Carthage than Arian intolerance began to manifest itself. Cyril, the Arian bishop, was determined to brook no opposition to his heretical tenets, and succeeded in fomenting the savage cruelty of Genseric and his successor, Huneric, against all who refused to become subject to the Arian as well as the Vandal yoke. As the persecution broke out, it drove over five thousand prominent Catholics from Carthage. All their possessions were confiscated, and they were sent out as beggars to find a home in other lands.

Victor of Vita was a contemporary witness to the appalling severity resorted to by the Arians to make converts to their

creed. In his narrative he speaks as an eye-witness of the martyrdoms of the Augustinian Hermits and nuns.

The Martyrs of Capsa.

'At this sad time,' says Victor, 'there were six members of a monastic community who had lived in happy accord, serving the Lord, whose names were Liberatus the abbot, Boniface the deacon, Severus and Rusticus, subdeacons, and Septimus and Maximus not yet in sacred orders. Animated with the same spirit as the Machabees, they scorned the edicts of the enemies of Truth. Loaded with heavy chains of iron, they were delivered into the custody of ferocious jailers, who held them prisoners in darksome places and subjected them to the most cruel torture.'

These six religious were from the Augustinian monastery of Capsa, which stood some distance from Carthage, and which was one of the institutions which escaped destruction during the march on Carthage. Soon after the outbreak of the persecutions, emissaries of Arians visited their retreat in order to put their doctrinal test, and to demand submission to the heresy which was to complete the ruin of the African Church. They defiantly declared their conscientious adhesion to the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. 'For us,' they replied, 'there is but one God, one Faith, one Baptism.' They were then manacled together with chains and brought to Carthage, where they were arraigned before the tribunal of King Huneric, and were condemned to be burned to death.

A raft constructed of dry wood, saturated with resin and oil, was prepared before their eyes. Upon this they were bound together at the sea-shore. Bearing its victims, it was pushed out into the deep water, where it was set on fire, but in a moment the flames suddenly ceased, and though torches were again and again applied to the raft, it would not burn. Then, in rage, Huneric, who watched the horrifying spectacle with his court, ordered the martyrs' skulls to be battered by his lictors. They were beaten till their bones protruded through their flesh and then cast into the sea. After a little while the bodies were seen to float and to move towards the

shore, and, as the crowd manifested their wonder and excitement at this, the tyrant withdrew, blaspheming and terrified. Everybody rushed to the shore, where the bodies, which showed no signs of their cruel torture, were taken forcibly, but reverently, by the Catholics and borne away. That night all the Catholic clergy of the city gathered for their burial in the grounds of the monastery of Bigue, which stood outside the walls. They were laid beside their brethren of the same Order, with all the solemnity of the ritual.

During the martyrdom of his companions the young Hermit Maximus was taken aside, and in expectation of his shrinking from the terrible ordeal of suffering a slow death by fire, liberty was offered him, and arguments were employed to induce him to renounce his faith. But he cried out aloud before the crowd : ' Let no one separate me from Liberatus, or from the brethren who have cherished me in their monastery. With these have I lived in the fear of God ; with these I desire to suffer ; with these I aspire to the crown of future glory. Almighty God has deigned to draw us together in life, in death and martyrdom will He crown us.'¹

Speaking of the deacon Boniface, who was one of these martyrs, Nazianzenus says that he was the ' son of a noble and heroic mother, a defender of the faith, a disciple of the Christian law, and a brother in soul and profession, one of the most observant of the traditional usages. . . . Reaching out together for possession of the treasure beyond price, the burden of their fear was, in truth, that any one of them might die without meriting the crown, or that some one of them should gain an unequal reward in their martyrdom.' Nazianzenus' suggestion of fear in the mind of the deacon was not apparent in the result. In the blood of the Lamb each one of these Hermit children of St. Augustine bathed his stole already purpled in his own blood.

It is said that Maximus, the youngest of the martyrs, entered the monastery of Capsa at a very early age. He had entered presumably for his education and remained to follow the hermit life when St. Vindemialis was superior. ' From early youth he was nurtured there, and when led out

¹ Victor, *Pers. Vandal* ; Crusenius IV, 16.

to martyrdom he was not the least in courage because of his age.'

Chroniclers connect St. Vindemialis with Capsa. He was the Bishop of that city, and died in the same persecution as the Hermits with whom he had taken refuge when the storm broke out anew. In his old age he came to the quiet of the cloister where in early life he had sought the peace of God. With Liberatus and his companions he prepared for any trial which destiny might send to test his faith, and he was led forth in chains to die in the same martyrdom as his brethren. 'Because he opposed and spurned the Arian doctrines,' says Baronius, 'St. Vindemialis was beheaded by order of King Huneric. On the same day the holy Bishops Eugenius and Longinus were also beheaded.'¹

The Martyred Sisters of Carthage.

Amongst the first victims of Arian fanaticism at Carthage was a whole community of Augustinian sisters, the details of whose sufferings are appalling. Their convent lay close to the walls of the city and was dedicated to St. Stephen, as the relics of the protomartyr carried from Jerusalem by Paul Orosius were enshrined in their chapel. This was one of the institutions left intact by the soldiery of Genseric as they entered Carthage, and had become for the time being a refuge for young girls and sisters who had fled from other convents at the approach of the Vandals. When the Arian priests, accompanied by lictors, presented the test of orthodoxy and demanded their assent to their heretical dogmas, they refused to conform and were subjected to the most barbarous treatment. They were held as prisoners till their trial before Huneric. Then they were herded together in the square of Carthage, and here again they refused to profess a doctrine which they regarded with horror. They were then stripped of their religious habits and exposed to the jeers of the barbarian's savage followers. Cyril, the Arian bishop, came and offered them their liberty if they would confirm certain calumnies propagated against the Catholic bishops, for whose murder he was seeking a

¹ VI. A.D. 484.

pretext, but the only answer that came from their lips was a prayer to the God of mercy for all sinners.

Disappointed by their silence, the Arian resorted to the threat of death, but this aroused no sign of weakness. Death had been constantly the subject of their contemplation. Life to them was but a little while on earth, and then the gentle hand of the Saviour would soothe their sufferings and open the gates of Paradise to their souls. They had long anticipated this trial of their faith, and they were prepared to defy the tyrant who had brought desolation to the African Church.

Enraged by the fortitude and constancy of these frail women, Huneric ordered them to be tortured. Several of them were suspended from high stakes with weights tied to their feet. Their flesh was hacked and torn with knives and burned with red-hot irons and flaming torches. Some of the sisters had already died from the shock and horror of their exposure, others died slowly of their agonies. When the night closed down upon the gruesome spectacle, a merciful silence had settled upon their distorted bodies. Their souls had received the double crown of martyrdom and virginity. Catholics, who had stood helplessly by, remained at the place of martyrdom and, as the crowd dispersed, took possession of the remains, and bearing them to the convent grounds laid them reverently in one grave.

The following day dawned upon a new horror. Some of the sisters who had not been tortured were exposed in the slave market for sale. They were bought by tribesmen from the mountains and the desert and were led away, never to be heard of again.

The growth of convent life in Africa was rapid and remarkable. From the earliest times we hear of holy women giving themselves entirely to the service of the Church, engaging in the instruction of the catechumen, in the baptismal functions, and in helping the clergy in ministering to the needy. Tertullian extols the noble women who in voluntary continency ministered in the assemblies of the faithful, or who, whilst seeking after Christian perfection, lived the hidden life in the deserts. We do not hear of any organised community life for women until the pagan persecu-

tions had ceased. St. Pachomius, who died in 346, raised a convent where his sister and her companions could dwell. In the next century St. Paula established a convent for virgins at Bethlehem, and about the same time monasteries for sisterhoods sprang up in Africa. Of these, St. Perpetua, St. Augustine's sister, and St. Melania the younger were co-founders. There can be little doubt that these houses, which spread to Hippo and Carthage, had the patronage of Augustine and Alipius. These prelates could not have failed to see the inestimable value of the services of these holy women in giving instruction and education to children and in protecting young girls born in the pagan atmosphere of those times.

The convent of Tagasta was the first important establishment, and was built with the co-operation of St. Melania. In the 'Acts of Metaphrastes,' quoted by Herrera,¹ it is stated that St. Melania and Pinian 'erected two monasteries at Tagasta to which they gave ample endowment. One was for Hermits and had a community of eighty, the other was for women, and is said to have had accommodation for one hundred and thirty.'

Later we find Perpetua at Hippo, where she presided over a large community of sisters. After her death there was some discontent over the appointment of the sister who succeeded her in the office of superioress. This drew from the pen of Augustine a reprimand, and to his letter were added certain rules of observance which brought their religious life into closer harmony with that of the Hermits. These rules formed the basis of observance in each of the other convents.

Little was known of St. Melania in the West until 1908, when Cardinal Rampolla discovered two *Lives* of her, one in the Escorial, in Latin, and one in the Barbarini library, in Greek. We have already referred to her in our paragraph on St. Alipius. She entered the convent at Tagasta, where she lived for seven years in rigorous fasting and penance, and where, according to several authors, she was invested with the holy cincture of the Order by St. Alipius.² When she left Tagasta on her pilgrimage to the holy places, she was also contemplating the conversion of her uncle, Volusianus, at

¹ M., II, 44.

² Dominic Gravina, 105; Peter Calvo, II, 12; Herrera, M., II, 45.

Constantinople. It was impossible for her to return to Africa, for the Vandal invasion had taken place during her sojourn at Jerusalem. She died there on the last day of December 439. It is her feast day in the Augustinian Order.

Our only records refer to the convents of Tagasta, Carthage, and Hippo; and if there were other sisterhoods in Africa during the lifetime of St. Augustine, their history is lost for ever.

After the lapse of some years Augustinian communities appeared in various countries of Europe, and a remarkable continuity has been preserved down to the present time.

In the year 590 we find a convent of Augustinian sisters at Poitiers, established by St. Radegunda, and dedicated to her name after her death. St. Radegunda was Queen of the Franks. Her death is recorded by Gregory of Turone,¹ and in the *Roman Martyrology*, A.D. 590. 'Pictavi, St. Radegunda, Queen, whose life was made illustrious by her miracles and virtues.' This convent was patronised by the venerable Basina, daughter of Chilpericus, King of the Franks. The foundation came to exist during the episcopacy of St. Cæsarius of Arles, who gave the sisterhood the rule of St. Augustine.

Amongst other early convents was that of Capua, which is said to have been founded and endowed with many privileges by St. Gelasius. St. Matrona and eleven companions were established here under the Apostolic patronage. Antony of the Purification writes in the *Theatro Triumphalis* of its Augustinian character. St. Matrona and her companions are said to have been martyred, but there is nothing definite in the records regarding this conjecture. Cardinal Baronius suggests that Matrona's name was confounded with that of the martyr Matrona, who suffered in Africa during the Diocletian persecutions, and whose relics were venerated at Capua in Italy. The holy Abbess Matrona was the daughter of Theodula, King of Lusitania.

Blessed Columba, virgin and martyr, whose death is recorded in 990, was the abbess of an Augustinian convent in Portugal. Her house was raided and destroyed by the Moors, and the whole community were martyred.²

¹ *Lib. IX, 12.*

² *Theatro Triumphalis.*

A great number of Augustinian convents were established during the Middle Ages. In 1106 the Count de Rode founded a convent for Augustinian sisters at Werden, near Hanover. Grantzio¹ and Marquez² speak of the convent of Saxony founded in 1104. In Venice, 1177, a convent over which Julia, daughter of the Emperor Frederic, presided as abbess was founded. Many others of great antiquity are mentioned in our records.

The Martyrs of Trabracene.

The Hermit monastery of Trabracene³ was situated amongst the hills above the port town which has been rendered as memorable by the story of its martyrs, as by the classic verses of Claudianus, who sings of Trabracene, as 'the friendly port in which the vandal general Stilicus found refuge in a storm.'

Some short time after King Genseric had become master of Carthage, four young men were received into the hermitage of Trabracene—Martinianus, Saturnianus, and two brothers whose names have not been recorded. Martinianus, a skilful artificer of military weapons, had been in the employment of a Vandal merchant. In order to secure his permanent services this merchant arranged a marriage between him and Maxima, a young Christian maiden who had charge of his domestic household. Martinianus was not averse to the alliance, but, on his approaching Maxima, she said to him: 'Oh, Martinianus, I have already consecrated my body to Christ; and, having a heavenly spouse, I cannot enter into human espousals with you. If I might give you advice, you too, if you wish, could love and serve Him to whom I have vowed myself in chastity.' While listening to the holy virgin's admonition, Martinianus received a wonderful grace. He humbly consecrated himself to Christ and drawing Saturnianus and two brothers with him, they all embraced the Hermit life.

As they were not slaves, they felt no scruple in abandoning the service of the Vandal merchant, and whilst Maxima withdrew to a convent near Carthage, Martinianus and his

¹ *Lib.* VI, c. 38.

² *Cap.* XIV, 8.

³ Arabic, Trabraca.

companions made their entry secretly into the hermitage of Trabracene. Their Vandal master, who had searched for them everywhere, succeeded at length in discovering their retreats during the persecution under Genseric. He had them arrested and dragged before the tyrant, who ordered their flesh to be gashed with knives, and then to be beaten with staves until their bones appeared through the flesh. Maxima was condemned to be tortured, and was stretched upon a rack which broke into pieces. At the same moment, the four martyrs who had been left for dead rose up before the eyes of the spectators, the terrible wounds which they had received completely disappearing. Seeing this, the vindictive Vandal employer died a horrible and sudden death in the midst of the crowd, and Genseric was so terrified that he refrained from ordering further torture. Martinianus and his companions were then given as slaves to a Moor who took them away into the desert. Here they carried out intense Christian propaganda, succeeding not only in making numerous converts, but also in providing for them the services of priests. They were again denounced before Genseric, who ordered them to be tied to chariots, and dragged through thorny brushwood in a forest until they were dead.

Victor, who chronicles these incidents in the *Carthage Persecutions*, tells us that these martyrs belonged to the hermitage of Trabracene, over which Andréas ruled as superior. Their martyrdom is recorded in the *Roman Martyrology*, October 16, 456.

Maxima was again tortured but was miraculously liberated. Afterwards she found refuge with some members of the Augustinian sisterhood who were in hiding, but 'they survived only for a little time.'¹

To the martyrs of this period we must add the name of St. Euthimius, about 506.² His tomb was discovered in Caralatano, Sardinia, in 1617 with the inscription 'Mar. Epis. Euthimius.' Many ecclesiastics had been subjected to torture before their expulsion from Africa and died from the effects in their exile. The remains of St. Euthimius were found with those of other bishops. His identity as an

¹ Herrera, M., 46.

² Herrera, P., 207.

Augustinian was due to the finding amongst the remains a ring of the Augustinian cincture.

The Hermits of Vivacene.

Vivacene was a monastery situated amongst barren rocks on the lonely coast about fifty miles south of Carthage. Here the Hermits in their solitary and penitential life cultivated little patches of soil, found in the clefts of the rocks around them. It would appear that the only approach was from the sea and that most of their food and drinking-water was conveyed to them in a little boat. It is probable that this secluded retreat escaped the notice of the Arian persecutors, for there is record of its existence in the year 501, when it was raided and destroyed by marauding Moors.

The records say that this hermitage sheltered individuals 'of all ages, from little boys to decrepit old men.' The presence of boys is accounted for by the fact that it was a preparatory school for the priesthood during the sad years of the Arian persecution. It was to Vivacene that St. Fulgentius fled for refuge when the community ruled over by Bishop Faustus was dispersed, and here he remained for several years. The chroniclers¹ tell us that 'there were two priests in the community admired for their merits, and venerable in their advanced age.' They ministered to the spiritual needs of the Hermit brethren, and whilst they filled the position of abbots in the monastery they laboured perseveringly, instructing and preparing young men for the ecclesiastical life. To this hermitage Fulgentius secretly made his way, and here the title of Abbot was conferred upon him by his adopted brethren. Fulgentius consented to accept the offer only on the condition that Felix, a former abbot, would assume the position jointly with him.

About the year 409, or 501, the Moors who were raiding the coast discovered the hermitage and, after plundering it, completely destroyed it. Those who escaped death by flight went south towards Ruspe where a new hermitage, mentioned in the records at this date as 'Ididense,' was established. Felix and Fulgentius were discovered here

¹ Gesta, S. Fulgentius, c. 14.

preaching against Arianism, for which they were seized and cruelly scourged. In later years we find Felix again associated with St. Fulgentius on his return from Sardinia, and ruling as abbot over a new monastery erected close to the church at Ruspe.

Cardinal Baronius makes reference to Felix under the date 490. Herrera speaks of him as still living in 522.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFUSION OF THE ORDER IN EUROPE

As the Vandal invasion swept over Africa unrecorded numbers of Hermits gave their lives in martyrdom for the faith, or were sold into slavery by their cruel captors. They passed from the silence of the cloister to the silence of the grave, or the desert, whilst their monasteries perished in the storm of devastation that carried disaster to the whole fabric of Christianity in their native land. Flying from the horrors of massacre and sacrilege, others turned with sinking hearts towards exile as their only alternative, if they were to save Augustine's institute from inevitable extinction. Tradition tells us that 'they set out for the shores of Italy, Spain, and the Islands of the Mediterranean,' where, under the protection of a benign providence, they laid anew foundations of their Order that were destined to flourish and endure throughout the ages.

As we gather up the stray leaves of their history in these countries, we find them adapting themselves to national conditions, preserving their identity as Hermits of St. Augustine, and, with an extraordinary vitality, defying the spectre of adversity whenever and wherever it appeared. During the social and political upheavals that marked the course of the centuries, they met with many reverses of fortune, but through all they adhered to the ideals of their founder, and in every field of Christian labour they worked with courage for humanity and the Church. Consistently fostering the religious vocation, they drew thousands into their ranks and spread the influence of their institute beyond the boundaries of nations. 'Widespread in Africa,' says Cardinal Baronius, 'the Order founded by Augustine became widespread in Western Christendom, and fruitful

in its benefits to the Church.' Long before the birth of Benedict, they were recognised as the pioneers of Western monasticism. Within a century of their exodus they had established themselves in a great many places and, through the saintly example of their lives, had won the esteem of clergy and people, whilst their learning opened the way for many of their members to the highest positions in the hierarchies.

Throughout the centuries they maintained their identity and their rule, and at the time of the 'Union' which was brought about by Alexander IV, they were 'widespread' all over Europe; a fact upon which the Augustinians of to-day found their claim to continuity from those early exiled Hermits.

St. Gaudiosus.

The first of the exiles of whom we have record are St. Gaudiosus and his companions. Sailing from one of the African ports, they reached Naples about the year 440. Here, as they had anticipated, they received a hospitable welcome from the monks of St. Paulinus, followers of the rule of Augustine. It is said that St. Gaudiosus was accompanied by a number of bishops, amongst whom was Quodvultdeus of Carthage, and when the Saint established community life at a place called Niridiana, these men laid aside their dignity and followed the community observances in the same manner as the humblest of his subjects. From the character of the religious life at Niridiana, our chroniclers assure us that Gaudiosus had been a Hermit in Africa. This monastery, though burned and plundered on several occasions, was never abandoned. It endured during a thousand years. Herrera says that only shortly before his time the Hermits transferred to a position within the walls of Naples. The early hermitage is mentioned in the *Acta Ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ*, which tells us that its founder was venerated as a saint. It is mentioned also by Louis de Angelis,¹ by Cornelius Lancelotte,² by Cardinal Baronius, and others.

Gaudiosus, whose surname was Coelius Septimus, had

¹ Fol. 94.

² Lib. II, c. 18.

been, according to records of the Order, Bishop of Batinia in Africa.¹ After ruling at Niridiana for thirteen years he died on October 28, 453, and was buried in a grotto to which he had frequently retired to pray. Cardinal Baronius, in his notes on the *Roman Martyrology*, says: 'The subterranean grotto and the grave of St. Gaudiosus still exist in the suburbs of Naples. Amongst the most important monuments of antiquity is the slab marking his grave and bearing the inscription: "Here rests in peace St. Gaudiosus, who died the VI Kal. November . . . Ann. 453."' St. Agnellus was one of the successors of St. Gaudiosus in the government of Niridiana. He was a member of a noble house of Naples. After having spent some part of his life as a solitary, he joined the Augustinian community, where his austere sanctity gained for him the admiration of his companions in religion. During his time the monastery of Niridiana was rebuilt and became one of the most important houses of religious in southern Italy. His memory is preserved in the *Acta Eccl. Neapolitanæ*, which tells us that 'in the neighbourhood of Naples he was held in veneration for his miracles. Often he was seen to save the city from its besiegers by making the sign of the Cross.' He died on December 11, 596, and his relics were enshrined in the ancient church which was, in after years, given his name.

The Hermits in Egypt.

Sabellicus² tells us of a company of Hermits who journeyed into Egypt about the year 467. In describing their appearance he gives the most remarkable details of their habits. 'There appeared,' he says, 'nine brothers coming from Africa; Hermits clad in black habits with large sleeves and wearing girdles.' When considering the passage found in the letter of St. Ambrose, 'We clothed the new Christian in new garments, even with a black cowl; and we ourselves did gird him with a leathern cincture which Simplicianus gave us,' we find the description given by Sabellicus of profound importance, for it bears out the fact that the Hermits of St. Augustine have preserved throughout

¹ Herrera, G., 272.

² Enæd. 7, 9, Tabula S. Step., Rome.

the centuries the identical habit worn by their founder and his early disciples.

Sabellicus gives the names of the Hermits as 'John, a very aged man who was recognised as superior of the others, Lecanus, Panteleon, Assa, Suama, Gubla, Germino, Sumapta, On. And these were they who in Egypt founded a monastery. Their relics are venerated as sacred.' How long their institute survived in the land peopled by thousands of Cenobite monks, we do not know. Crusenius¹ says: 'I myself have found in the Roman archives many references to convents in Æthiopia which flourished at one time, as well as the names of many fathers who laboured there for the spread of the Order.'

The Hermits in Austro-Germany.

St. Severinus, the Apostle of Monasticism in Austro-Germany, travelled to Vienna with a band of religious about the year 452, where he found a number of Roman settlers who had embraced Christianity. After the death of Attila, he established a small house for his followers close to the walls of Vienna and here he spent his life in the apostolate of Christ, winning in time the respect of Christian and barbarian alike. 'Filling up his days with good works,' he was often seen making long journeys barefooted along the frozen waters of the Danube, in order to preach to the despairing settlers, and to carry to them the consolations of religion. Practising the most austere penances, he was accustomed, from time to time, to retire to a lonely cell in the woods where he found solitude for prayer and contemplation. During all his life in the midst of a barbarous people he was never molested, but he foretold the persecutions that his community would suffer after his death. It became known to Adovaker, King of the Heruli, that the holy man was endowed with the gift of prophecy. He came in person to the Saint to ask him to foretell the prospects of his campaign in Italy. 'Go forth,' said the Saint, 'to-day thou art clad in the mean hides of animals, but soon thou shalt make gifts from the treasures of Rome.'

¹ Pars II, c. i, fol. 63.

After the barbarian's victories over the Roman armies, he came with the purpose of rewarding St. Severinus, but all the holy man would agree to accept was the freedom of one man.

After the death of the Saint, which occurred in 482, political conditions foreshadowed disaster for those he had left behind. Fearing dispersion, they made hurried arrangements for the transfer of the remains of their beloved Father to a place of security in Italy. They chose Lucilus and some others to undertake this responsibility. Joining a large body of fugitives who were journeying south, they carried the sacred relics with them till they reached Montefeltro. Here a number of miracles occurred, the fame of which drew crowds of people to venerate the Saint. Then we are told that a pious lady named Barbara offered her castle as an abode for the Hermits on the condition that the church would become the shrine of the Saint.¹ The offer was gladly accepted and the new foundation of Hermits, which was called Lucano, was confirmed by Pope Gelasius. Egippus, who was ever the close companion of St. Severinus, has left us a record of his life and in this he clearly identifies him with the monastic movement in Africa. 'From Africa he came. It was his birthplace. Escaping from the cruel Vandals, God in His sublime Majesty and Providence gave him as a gentle parent to Germany.' According to Stiabanus, quoted by Crusenius,² St. Severinus had been a subject of Severus,³ Bishop of Milevitana in Africa. He lived as a Hermit under the bishop's supervision, and because of his efforts to copy the virtues of the holy bishop, his companions called him 'little Severus.' After their flight from Africa, St. Severus and his Hermits travelled towards the northern provinces that were still subject to Rome. After this the chronicler leaves St. Severus and follows Severinus to Vienna. The monastery founded by the Saint at Vienna was restored and reoccupied by his followers and was known down the years till 1300 as a house of the Order of St. Augustine. In that year it was abandoned owing to the inundations of the

¹ The house founded by the pious Barbara, says Crusenius, 'still exists as a house of Hermits of St. Augustine.'

² Cap. III, 64.

³ One of Augustine's companions.

Danube. The Hermits moved to another place, and thirty-seven years later were transferred to a monastery within the walls of Vienna which had formerly belonged to the Cistercians.

Egippus, journeyed south to Lérins after the dispersion of his companions at Vienna and the seizure of their property by the Ostrogoths. Later we are told he joined his brethren at Lucano where he was elected to the position of Abbot. Amongst the letters of St. Fulgentius we find one addressed to the abbot Egippus. It is of interest to know that the Hermits of Augustine in those far-off years endeavoured to maintain correspondence with one another.

The Hermits in Spain.

Beyond the mere mention of 'monks and monasteries' found in the *Acts of Spanish Councils*, we can trace no definite historical record of the Hermits who are supposed to have migrated to Spain during the early period of the Vandal persecutions. Marianus, in *De rebus Hispaniæ*, referring to the reorganisation of the religious life, through the zeal of St. Donatus, says that 'before his time there were monks in Spain who were either not bound by any vows of religion, or who were compelled to lead solitary lives scattered through the woods.' It is possible that these were exiles from Africa who, after having suffered so much from their Arian persecutors in their own land, were avoiding their hatred in Spain.

Following the earliest records, we find that a house of the Order of Hermits existed at Toledo from the year 424, which was due to the munificence of St. Paulinus. The great antiquity of this monastery is established by documents discovered in the library of Cardinal Quiroga as testified by Alesso de Meneses, Archbishop of Braga: 'At Toledo there is a monastery of monks of St. Augustine.' Flavius Dexter, Marquez, and several others refer to this quotation as taken from an historical record of the year 1176.¹

Referring to the same era, 429, Flavius Dexter tells us

¹ From *The Foundation of Rome*, A.D. 424.

that 'Boniface of Caldeaquensis, belonging to the monks of St. Augustine, succeeded Paul in the bishopric of Tarragona.' Boniface was, according to Marquez,¹ a Spaniard and a Hermit of St. Augustine.

Later in the same century, 496, 'Hector, Bishop of Carthagina, rose to fame in a wonderful manner, and was appointed to succeed Palmatus in the See of Toledo. He was known as Fernandus of Africa.'

St. Ildefonsus in the *Catalogue of Illustrious Men* has left us an important record of St. Donatus and his followers who founded the monastery of Setavitana. 'Donatus, a monk by profession and practice, and a disciple of the Hermit life which flourished in Africa, foreseeing inevitable persecution by the Vandals and the dispersion of his fold, resolved to save his imperilled community of monks. He sailed by ship to Spain with a company of seventy monks, carrying with him a great quantity of manuscript books. Through the aid afforded him by a pious and noble lady named Minicia, and through his own industry, he was able to raise the monastery of Setavitana. It is said that this Prior brought into Spain the customs and rule of monastic observance.'²

It is clear that St. Donatus and his companions were Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine, and that the establishment of their house at Setavitana under such favourable circumstances facilitated the introduction of that regular observance of which Ildefonsus speaks. It is possible that St. Donatus discovered some communities of Hermits who had preceded him, and that amongst these he reorganised community life and introduced observance ; and it is possible

¹ C. XI, 145.

² Catalogue, A.D. 574. If the date given by Ildefonsus is correct, St. Donatus fled from Moorish not Vandal persecution. After the revocation of the Vandal penal laws by Hilderic, 523, St. Fulgentius and other bishops, returning to their dioceses, re-established several houses of Hermits. Ten years later came the campaign of Belisarius which, though resulting in the overthrow of the Vandal power, failed to establish a permanent hold upon the African province of the Empire. Continual raids carried out by the Moors, Berbers, and mountain tribes contributed to the unsettled conditions prevailing after the withdrawal of the Imperial armies. Gradually these tribes consolidated their power and prepared the way for the rule of Islam throughout all northern Africa. While they absorbed and endeavoured to conciliate the existing population, they were merciless in their attitude towards Christianity.

that through his influence and authority a new impetus was given to the activities of the Order in Spain.

There is evidence of two other houses having been established during his lifetime. One was in the neighbourhood of Carthagina and was called the monastery of St. Martin. Gregory of Turone, in his book *The Glorious Martyrs*,¹ relates an incident in connection with the history of this house. During the Visigoth wars it was raided by the soldiers of King Leovigild. On the approach of the soldiers the community fled for safety to the hills, the abbot alone remaining. He waited at the door, and as the raiders entered the gates one of them drew his sword to strike him. As he did so, the soldier fell dead before his companions' eyes. The mysterious death-blow so terrified the others that they refrained from molesting the venerable old man and, contenting themselves with plunder, went their way. When the affair was reported to Leovigild, he ordered the soldiers to return everything that had been taken from the hermitage. Some writers think that it was St. Donatus himself who was the 'venerable abbot' in this episode.

Blessed Nuntius, one of the companions of St. Donatus, was the founder of a third house of the Order at Barcelona. Accompanied by some Hermits of Setavitana, he arrived at Barcelona at a time when great popular demonstrations of devotion in honour of St. Eulalia were taking place. In order to show his respect for the memory of the holy virgin and martyr, he interrupted his journey at the city. The fame of their holy founder and the institute which they represented attracted the notice of the bishop and clergy, and aroused their interest in the object of their visit. We are told that the Hermits were offered a site for a monastery close to the city.² Sadiglia, in his *Centuria*, speaking of this settlement, connects Blessed Nuntius and his Hermits with St. Donatus.

After many years of toil, St. Donatus saw the Order take firm root in its new soil and assume a growth so vigorous as to give promise of enduring success. He died on the Kal. of November, 574. This is the date given by St.

¹ C. XII.

² Hieronimus Romanus, L. II, c. 27.

Ildefonsus. Julian of Toledo records his death in the year 450¹ and Cardinal Baronius in 484.

St. Ildefonsus pays a beautiful tribute to his memory in these words : ' In life, through the noble example of his virtues, in death, through the sublime glory of his memory, abiding here in the light of the world, or sleeping in the sepulchral crypt, wonderful evidence of his sanctity shines forth. Hence do the people of the region regard his tomb with veneration.'

He was succeeded in the government of Setavitana by his disciple, St. Eutropius, a Hermit who was held in universal esteem for his virtues and for his learning. The epitaph which he wrote for his beloved master's tomb is found amongst the records of those far-off years :

' Here enshrined lies the blessed Donatus, beloved father.
Africa claimed him whilst Spain received him.
Oft, as from sweet fountains, he drank the wisdom of Facundus,
The hermit illustrious amongst teachers.
As the barbarian laid Africa desolate, he sought Iberia ;
In adversity, Providence led him over the waves of the sea ;
And behold, the pious Minicia raised the shrine of God,
The sanctuary of the people, and for him and his servants,
In time called Setavitana ; he its glory, preceptor, guardian.
Exalted in merit, renowned in miracles, both in life and death,
He toiled for the salvation of all. He departed this life,
And now Eutropius, who holds his place, chants this song
To his master in Heaven.'

After some years St. Eutropius became Bishop of Valentia. The records tell us that he was present at the Council of Toledo, and with St. Leander he engaged in a vigorous campaign against the Arian heretics who had come with the Visigoths to Spain.² He was probably succeeded by St. Licinianus at Setavitana. This Hermit of St. Augustine became Bishop of Carthagina when Dominic, his immediate predecessor, was expelled from that See and driven into exile by Leovigild. He was noted not only for the holiness of his life but for the courage and zeal with which he opposed the Arians. According to the chronicles of Toledo, he eventually suffered martyrdom. ' St. Licinianus, Bishop of

¹ Era 488.

² Baronius, Tom. VII, Era 589.

Carthagina in the second year of Mauritius, that is in the year 585, was done to death by his heretical adversaries on the 4th day of May.¹ He is regarded by St. Isidore and St. Ildefonsus as a martyr for the faith.

Another distinguished man in the early history of the Spanish Church was Ferrandus Hector, who became Bishop of Carthagina, and was later translated to the Archbishopric of Toledo. Some years before the advent of St. Donatus, Ferrandus came to Spain in the company of Hermits from Sardinia. Julian of Toledo refers to him as a notable and learned man, who had been archpriest in the city of Carthage, and who lived in the year 495. He compiled the works of St. Fulgentius, whose disciple he had been. Known as 'Ferrandus Hector, the African,' he succeeded Palmatus in the See of Toledo. He was prominent in the Council of Tarragona, the documents connected with which bore his signature. Some verses written for his tomb at Toledo tell of his nationality, his virtues, his learning, and his zeal in defence of the teachings of the Church.

His writings would make it clear that whilst he was the associate of St. Fulgentius in Sardinia he lived under the Hermit rule. In a letter to a former companion, Severinus, he says: 'O how blessed am I in that simple faith which the Catholic Church proclaims to the world, and in which God doth make me content to pass the span of life in prayer and fasting in the company of my poor brethren, at the moment oppressed by divers and numerous misfortunes. I consider myself blessed when I rest within the silence of the monastery.' In a letter to St. Fulgentius he sends affectionate greetings to his former associates in Sardinia. The doors of the monastery of Sisle, near Toledo, must have often opened to him when he sought rest and release from the onerous duties of his office. In his love for his 'poor brethren,' he constantly sighed for their companionship. 'Renowned in miracles,' says Julian of Toledo, 'he departed this life in the year 524.'

Two other notable Augustinians whose memory has come down to us from those distant centuries were St. Arthuagus and St. Erthinodus. St. Arthuagus was 'Prior Abbot of the

¹ Julian of Toledo.

monastery of Sisle, Toledo,' and a contemporary of St. Isidore with whom he held correspondence. According to Hieronimus Romanus,¹ 'The Augustinian Fathers of Salamanca had in their possession a Gothic manuscript letter, written by Arthuagus, the Goth, of the Augustinian monastery of Toledo, to Isidore.' Herrera speaks of a transcript of this letter which he examined.²

St. Maximus, writing of the 'Era sexcentesima' (*circa* 562), says that at this time Arthuagus, a Goth and a monk of the Order of St. Augustine, became Prior of Sisle, Toledo, and acquired a great reputation for sanctity. Arthuagus belonged to the royal family of Athanagild, hence the interest which that monarch took in the Hermits and their monastery. He replaced the ancient fabric with new and extensive buildings and became a liberal patron of the Hermits. For this he was regarded as a 'Founder.'

Thomas de Vargas, Julian of Toledo, and others record the death of Arthuagus, but they differ regarding the date. De Vargas says: 'Arthuagus, a monk of the Augustinians of Sisle, Toledo, died a holy and peaceful death on the 1st day of May. He was a man who served the Faith with the greatest zeal.'³ Eutrandus says that he was held in the greatest veneration throughout Spain.

St. Erthinodus, 'the Goth,' was a member of the community of Sisle and prior during the reign of King Wittiza, a monarch whose vile debauchery and cruelty blur the closing page of the history of the Visigoth rule in Spain. This king lapsed into paganism and took several wives. He then issued a command that all clerics should marry under penalty of death. St. Erthinodus vigorously and defiantly denounced the king's immorality, for which he was immediately seized and put to torture and death. Hence, says Eutrandus, 'Erthinodus is regarded as a martyr.' 'From a place of humble seclusion at Toledo he was elevated to the highest position of honour.' The date of his death is not certain. King Wittiza's reign ended in 710.

The history of St. Mary's, Sisle, continues throughout the

¹ Chron., n. 26, 361.

² It was signed 'Dat Sisle, Arthuagus, Gothus, Ord. S Augustus.'

³ Era 671.

periods of Visigoth and Moorish rule in Spain, and all through the Middle Ages till the year 1375, when the buildings and site were handed over to the Jeromites. The monastery was rebuilt in a style worthy of the royal bounty by King Athanagild after he had made Toledo the capital of his kingdom, and the Augustinians enjoyed a respite from Arian persecution till the tide of Moorish conquest swept on towards the walls of the city. After the Caliphs had conquered the city they 'deigned,' says Marquez, 'to tolerate the religious institutions because of the Christian population. The monastery of Sisle was allowed to subsist, as was also the monastery of Aquilene, which was founded by Athanagild in the neighbourhood of Toledo.' During the persecutions that raged in the ninth and early tenth centuries it appears that the Hermits were dispersed, but some time after the relief of the city by Alfonso VI in 1095 they returned and again re-established themselves at Toledo. Eutrandus¹ tells us that the monastery of Carthagina, Sparta, was restored by Hermits coming, or returning, from Germany. Hieronimus Romanus says: 'The Hermits of St. Augustine who came to restore Toledo (De Sonaglia) belonged to the community of the Hermit monks of Carthagina.'²

There were many other Hermits of St. Augustine whose memory is preserved in the annals of the Spanish Church.

St. Renovatus.

St. Renovatus, according to Louis de Angelis³ and Cornelius Lancelotte,⁴ was a member of the Hermit community of Cauliniano. About the year 582, he died in the odour of sanctity. After spending several years in the religious life he was called from the cloister to the Archbishopric of Emeritensis. Paul Deacon, in his *Life and Miracles, Patrum Emeritensium*,⁵ refers to him as the Abbot of Cauliniano, and writes a lengthy passage extolling his learning, his integrity of faith, his virtues, and holiness of life. 'Conspicuous as a member of a noble Gothic family,

¹ Anno 867.

² His. Toletano, Pars. III.

³ Lib. IV, c. 20.

⁴ p. 170.

⁵ Cap. II, p. 8.

he chose a life of self-denial and poverty and wore the habit of penance and humility amongst the children of St. Augustine.'

Cauliniano was one of the early settlements of the African Hermit exiles and was probably founded by St. Nuntius, or by some of the Hermit followers of St. Donatus. This monastery attracted the attention of many chroniclers of the years because of the miraculous statue of our Blessed Lady of Nazareth, which was enshrined there until the Hermits were forced to fly before the sword of the Saracens. St. Romanus, whose death is recorded in 714, was the superior at the time, and he and his companions carried with them to the mountains of Portugal the statue and some relics of St. Bartholomew, the Apostle. Here also they found themselves in peril, and for safety they buried their treasures in a chapel where many years afterwards they were discovered.

The Saint was careful to enclose a document with the relics so that they might be verified after his death. It reads as follows: 'Here are the relics of the saints which Romanus the monk carried with him from the monastery of Cauliniano, together with the ancient image of the Virgin Mary of Nazareth, which in former times was venerated for its many miracles at Nazareth of Galilee. In the days of the Gothic kings it was brought hither by a Greek monk, by name Ciricum, and in the said monastery it was venerated for a long time before the Moors invaded Spain. King Roderic, overcome in battle, alone, downcast, exhausted and weeping, came to this monastery of Cauliniano, and there from the said Romanus received the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist; and together with him, bearing the holy relics, he came to mount Scanum. 10 Kal. Dec. Here the King remained for a whole year.' 'Romanus dwelt to the end of his days here.' Before he died he hid the relics. 'May God preserve all these from the hands of the Moors.'¹

Numerous writers speaking of Cauliniano enshroud its history in a maze of conjecture. Some claim that it was a Benedictine establishment; but the Order of St. Benedict

¹ Herrera, R., p. 329.

had not come into Spain at the period of its foundation. Others suggest that it was Basilian, from the presence of the Greek monk, the bearer of the miraculous image and relics; but the most reliable authorities, writing from authentic sources of information, furnish proof of its Augustinian character.¹ Andreas Quercentanus refers to Nuntius as a martyr for the Faith. 'Nuntius, the African abbot, coming to Emerita was put to death by vile assassins who were afterwards tormented by demons.' 'He was a man of great holiness and merit,' and was one of the band of Hermits who came to Spain with St. Donatus.

St. Gaudiosus of Turiasone.

St. Gaudiosus was a Hermit of the monastery of De Saras, which was situated near the Pyrenees in Spain. His father was a noble Goth named Guntha, and an intimate friend of King Theodore, who ruled in Italy at that period. When quite young, Gaudiosus was placed under the tuition of Victor, the Abbot of De Saras. Having completed his education he did not wish to leave the monastery. He was received as a member of the community, and lived there with the Hermits of Augustine till his appointment to the See of Turiasonensis. He was held in the highest repute for his learning, and for his activities in defence of the truths of the Church against the Arians and Priscillianists. He died in 530. He is venerated as 'St. Gaudiosus of Turiasone,' and his feast is on November 3.

The monastery of De Saras was called 'St. Martin's,' and it is said that it was founded by one of the Gothic kings. It was afterwards dedicated to St. Victor, who ruled over it as Abbot, and regarding whose history writers differ. Victorinus, or Victor, being an African name, it is supposed by chroniclers that he was one of the exiled Hermits who founded so many houses of the Order at that period.

This monastery by the Pyrenees became the retreat of a number of saints, amongst whom were Victorinus himself, St. Gaudiosus, St. Nazarius, and St. Vincentius. Amongst

¹ Marquez, XII, 8; Lancelotte, 170; Louis de Angelis, *Lib.* IV, c. 20.

its abbots were Oscientius, who was elected Bishop in Aragonia, Florentius, A.D. 575, Raymundus, 950, Blascum, 965, John, 971, Peter, 971. In the year 1000 John Estepaste introduced the Benedictine Rule.

St. Fulgentius.

Fulgentius, one of the last of the illustrious men claimed by the Hermits of St. Augustine in Africa, was born in the year 468 at Telepte, in the province of Byzantium. His father, Claudius, was the son of a noble Carthaginian who had been despoiled of his possessions and forced into exile by the Arians. His mother, Mariana, inherited some estates near Telepte. It was here that the family settled after their secret return from Italy. Here his father died whilst he was still a child and here he was brought up under maternal supervision. Mariana engaged the most accomplished teachers for her children, and Fulgentius mastered the Latin and Greek classics; and, being gifted with an excellent memory, it is said that he could recite the poems of Homer line by line.

As he grew in years he grew in favour with all who knew him, and out of sympathy for his mother's position the leading people of the province elected him 'Procurator of the Fiscus,' a position which carried with it both honour and remuneration. He assumed the management of the family affairs and relieved his mother of care and anxiety. His duties as 'Procurator' or his work on the estates did not deprive him of time for study, for his mind was set upon the pursuit of knowledge. He read the philosophers and the Fathers of the Church. It is said that whilst reading the *Enarrations of St. Augustine on the Psalms* he formed the resolution of devoting his life to God in the religious state. He renounced his claims to the inheritance of the property on behalf of a younger brother, and secretly made his way to the retreat of a Bishop Faustus, who had been expelled from his See.¹

Later, Faustus, having been compelled to find refuge in

¹ Several authors are of the opinion that Faustus had been a Hermit of St. Augustine (Vicus, *Historia Sardis*, III, cap. 31, fol. 155).

some other place, owing to the discovery of his retreat by the satellites of the vindictive Huneric, his companions were dispersed and were obliged to seek their own safety. It was then that Fulgentius found a shelter with the Augustinian Hermits at Vivacene. He was received into the community, and adopted the habit and Rule of St. Augustine.

While at Vivacene he gave himself up to study and practised the greatest austerities. In time he was elected Abbot and took up the administration of the monastery jointly with the former abbot, Felix. After some years of undisturbed religious life in this lone retreat, his reading of the *Collations of Cassian* inspired him with the idea of making a pilgrimage to the Cenobite communities of Egypt. Setting out on his journey, his ship chanced to touch at Syracuse, where he was informed of the heretical dissensions that had broken out amongst the Egyptian monks. An exiled bishop of his own country and province, whom he found living as a lonely Hermit on an island off the coast of Sicily, advised him to return home to his monastery. After a visit to Rome, he went back to Vivacene, and from there to another monastery of Hermits situated amongst the rocky hills on the island of Circene. His motive in secluding himself here was evidently to escape the attention of the bishops whom he suspected of contemplating his appointment to one of the vacant Sees. But this humble subterfuge did not avail him. He was recalled, probably under obedience, and had to submit to the decision of the bishops. He was ordained priest, and soon afterwards was consecrated Bishop of Ruspe. Later it transpired that at the assembly of the bishops he had been nominated to other Sees, but his retreat had not been discovered. It was known only to the Abbot Felix, who was ultimately advised to exercise his authority and recall him.

His first appeal to his people was for a site for a new monastery. The citizens of Ruspe immediately offered co-operation in his scheme; 'and a certain man named Posthumanianus, a most Christian and noble one of the citizens, offered a field of his own very near to the church, where a wood of tall pines rose high in luxurious growth.'¹

¹ Gesta.

Fulgentius accepted this and, before he undertook the work, sent for Felix to get his approval of his designs. The new foundation was called 'Ididense,' and here Fulgentius lived with his brother Hermits as one of themselves, wearing the same habit and cincture, and continuing his fasts and mortifications. He scarcely ever wore shoes. He retained the same old habit winter and summer in order to set an example to all his associates of true religious poverty and humility.

His extensive learning placed him high in the opinion of his brother bishops, and his word and advice bore weight in their councils. He penned their letters, composed their joint pastorals, and when driven into exile, he made provision for sixty destitute bishops through his Hermit brethren in Sardinia.

When in the year 515 Thrasimund, King of Carthage and a follower of Arianism, issued his challenge to the Catholic bishops on matters of doctrine, it was Fulgentius who was entrusted with the reply. He returned to Carthage, and though the order of procedure was unfair, as the 'ten questions' of the Arians were only read to him without his having had an opportunity of studying them beforehand, he gave replies which favourably impressed both the King and the public, as appears from circumstances attending his departure from the city. The Arian clergy, fearing his influence, demanded his immediate deportation. Adverse winds kept the ship in the port for some days, and during that time crowds flocked to hear him speak and to receive communion from his hands.

During his exile in Sardinia, Fulgentius lent his aid in building the monastery for Hermits near the ancient basilica of St. Saturninus at Cagliari, where the body of St. Augustine then reposed. Here Fulgentius remained living as a humble Hermit under a superior, following his old practices of mortification and humility until the abolition of the penal laws by Hilderic, the successor of Thrasimund.¹ Then Fulgentius returned to his See and to his beloved monastery of 'Ididense,' where the aged Abbot Felix, with the assistance of Divine Providence, maintained his community through

¹ A.D. 523.

all the persecutions. Providing for the independence of the monastery, he gave his attention to the business of his diocese, and introduced a somewhat rigorous régime for his secular clergy. He built clergy-houses where they dwelt together. He instituted laws of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays for clerics and laity, and made elaborate arrangements for carrying out the Sacred Ritual in his cathedral church.

Shortly before his death he retired again to the solitary monastery on the island of Circene, which stood off the coast in the Gulf of Tunis. Here he wished to spend his last days, but the people of Ruspe clamoured so earnestly for his return that he was constrained to abandon his solitude. His return was only for a brief space of time. He fell ill, and gathering round him his clergy and religious, whose forgiveness he sought for any severity he might have shown in his administration, he died on January 1, 533, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his episcopate.

He was a profuse writer and has left a series of works which is of the greatest theological value. He was a profound student of St. Augustine, whom he imitated in industry and followed in thought. Historians acknowledge him as a professed Hermit of St. Augustine. Cardinal Baronius in his *Annalia Ecclesiæ, Anno 504*, referring to the African monasticism, says: 'Whence did the monastic institute come into Africa? If you will rightly remember, you will hold that it came through no other than St. Augustine who observed it at Milan and Rome, and who introduced it into Africa where it became widely diffused; at the same time you must clearly understand that the monastic rule which St. Fulgentius professed was taken by him from St. Augustine.'

His connection with the Hermit friars in Sardinia is well authenticated. He not only founded a monastery for them in a place where they could be in close proximity to the relics of their holy founder, but he reorganised, during his exile there, the scattered bands of Hermits who had found a refuge in the island some fifty years before. Joannes Arca Sandres says that 'there were several monasteries of the

Order of Hermits in the towns and villages which were reorganised by St. Fulgentius and these are flourishing at present.¹ 'Forced by the Saracens about the year 726, these Hermits withdrew from the island.'

Franciscus J. F. Sassarensis, in *De Rebus Sardis*,² speaking of the foundation at Cagliari, says: 'When Fulgentius came to Cagliari he was accompanied by monks, clerics, and illustrious men. With Januario, his brother bishop, he carried out the plans of a great monastery upon the site of a small dwelling. After the lapse of a few years he erected the monastery close to the basilica of the holy martyr Saturninus in the city, and having gathered there forty brethren under the Cenobite discipline, it became the principal house of the Order there.' 'There were also other important convents in Sardinia, in which dwelt men of great dignity and learning, and who were illustrious for their piety.'³

It would seem very probable that the exiled Hermits of Hippo went to Sardinia, for no others could have got possession of the precious relics of St. Augustine, which they are said to have had in their keeping. 'The Hermits who came to Sardinia and who were in close touch with the sepulchre of St. Augustine, carried with them, in their coming, the Mitre, Pastoral staff, and Pastoral of St. Augustine.'⁴ The body of St. Augustine had been translated to Sardinia during the period of transient peace which followed the intervention of the Byzantine emperor, Zeno. This was several years before the advent of St. Fulgentius. The transfer of the body of the Saint was effected through the agency of a wealthy and pious Carthaginian.

When Sardinia was invaded by the Saracens and the Hermits were compelled to abandon their monasteries, Hieronimus Romanus tells us that 'the Hermits carried the Mitre, Pastoral Staff, and Pastoral of St. Augustine to Spain, and they were deposited in the monastery of the City of Valencia, where they are still to be seen.'

¹ p. 69.

² p. 104.

³ p. 151.

⁴ *De Rebus Sardis*, p. 167.

St. Gelasius, Pope.

St. Gelasius, who from time immemorial has been commemorated by the Augustinian Order in a Proper Mass and in the Divine Office, is said to have passed several years of his life in the hermitage of St. Gaudiosus and St. Agnellus at Naples. Marquez, Herrera, Crusenius, Pamphilus, and other chroniclers connect him with the exiled community which afforded him hospitality after his leaving Carthage. At Nervana he acquired his deep knowledge of St. Augustine's works, and practised those penitential austerities which he never relaxed during the course of his after life. With the Hermits he had opportunity to gratify his zeal for study, and for examining the controversial writings of the great Doctor of Hippo and the other Fathers of the Church. It was only in such a retreat that he could have perfected that ecclesiastical knowledge which placed him so high in the ranks of the learned divines of his day.

In one of his letters¹ he calls himself 'Romanus Natus,' as he was born of a Roman family settled in the African province. During the Genseric persecutions, which sent laymen as well as clerics into exile, he followed his countryman, Gaudiosus, to Italy. There is no evidence that he was a cleric at this time, hence it was under the conditions of life at Nervana, where he became associated with exiled bishops and priests, that his clerical vocation was fostered. It was here that he received holy orders.

In time he gained public respect for his learning and ability, and he was called to Rome by Pope Felix III, who employed him in secretarial work and in the drafting of ecclesiastical documents. At Rome, where his zeal and integrity established him in the confidence of the Pontiff, the humble and austere life which he continued to lead gained for him the admiration of all with whom he came in contact. It surprised the world outside when a stranger and an African was elected to succeed Pope Felix III in the Pontifical See, but the Roman Senate, clergy, and people were unanimous in their choice of St. Gelasius. After his election to the Supreme Pastorate of the Church, he

¹ Let. 12, n. 1.

showed his high conception of the sacredness of the duties devolving upon him. He took up the defence of the Church against the assaults of heresy, and showed his strength of character in maintaining the rights of the See of Peter against the claims, both lay and ecclesiastical, emanating from the new capital of the empire. Nowhere, it is said, can stronger arguments be found for the defence of the primacy of the Roman See than in the writings which St. Gelasius has left us. He placed the authority of the Priesthood of Christ above the authority of kings, since priests in their sacred office must render before the throne of God an account even for the kings.

During the four short years of his pontificate he displayed an extraordinary energy, re-establishing ecclesiastical discipline and reorganising the ancient traditional usages of the Church. He introduced formulas that added grandeur and solemnity to the ritual, and composed hymns, collects, and prefaces for a standard Missal for the Mass.

In a Roman synod convoked during the second year of his pontificate, he drew up the celebrated catalogue of the authentic writings of the Fathers of the Church, to which he prefixed the sacred canon of the Scriptures. He was a prolific writer, but much of his literary work has been lost. In a papal letter¹ we find the glowing tribute of a contemporary. As Vicar of Christ he practised the austerities of the simple Hermit, devoting himself to penance, study, and prayer. A true father of the poor, he was lavish in his works of charity, and died without a single possession, November 19, 496. No Pope of those early centuries did more to defend the deposit of Faith, to consolidate the privileges and the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to maintain the prerogatives of the Holy See against the ambitious claims of Byzantium.

His profound admiration of St. Augustine, to whose works he gave the Apostolic sanction, and to whose Hermits he owed so much, led him to introduce the Augustinian rule of life amongst the clerics of the Lateran, who afterwards became known as the Canons of the Lateran.

¹ LXVII, 231.

St. Maximus.

St. Maximus was a member of the Cenobite monastery of Crisopolas, which was situated in the vicinity of Constantinople. Owing to the part which he took in the controversies with the schismatics, he and some others were punished and expelled from the monastery. They came to Africa where they entered one of the hermitages of St. Augustine. St. Maximus was a man of great intellectual ability, and was present at some of the African synods where his eloquence and knowledge won for him a place of distinction. After some years he returned to Constantinople where he openly denounced the heretics who were working for the subversion of Christendom. He was seized and tortured. His tongue was cut out, but he continued to preach until he was put to death with his companion, St. Anastasius. 'Both had dwelt with our hermits in Africa'¹ and are honoured amongst our martyrs. The date of their death is given as 640.

St. Vincent of Lérins.

Our historians give St. Vincent a place amongst the Augustinian Hermits. 'Belonging to the French nation, this illustrious man, priest, and monk of Lérins, lived in the time of Honorius the Emperor.'² He passed his life in the silence of the cloister and is known to the world only by his writings, and principally by his *Commentaries of the Pilgrim*.

He was a man of great personal sanctity, yet his writings, presumably published as a refutation of heresy, are on the whole tainted with semi-Pelagianism. Though an Augustinian, he may not have been fully acquainted with Augustine's works, for he writes under the influence of that semi-Pelagian thought so rife amongst French ecclesiastics at this time. Encouraged, or perhaps impelled, by his superior, Faustus, who is said to have been imbued by these heretical opinions, he gave his writings to the public. St. Prosper's refutation soon followed showing that his line

¹ Marquez, C. 12, 2.² *Martyrologium Romanum*, 256.

of argument had been long since disposed of by Augustine in his controversy with Pelagius, and in his tract on 'free will and grace' which followed.

Augustine lived to see the first breaking of this heretical storm. He had trouble with his own brethren in the monastery of Hadrumenta in Africa, but the elements of revolt were soon appeased. His voice, however, could not reach across the sea. Could it have penetrated the walls of Lérins the *Commentaries of the Pilgrim* would never have seen the light. Several authors of great brilliancy took up the subtle question of grace and predestination at the time, whose works overshadowed those of the 'Pilgrim's' pen. One work in particular, on *The Call of All Nations*, which appeared at the time of Augustine's death, was approved of by Pope St. Gelasius. It is a work clearly based upon Augustinian grounds. Other works, written from an Augustinian standpoint and published, presumably, with the approbation of the Holy See, went deeper still into the difficult question that agitated the French Church. As Truth eventually rises above all contradiction, semi-Pelagianism, despite the support which it had received for a century from men of recognised ability, was finally condemned as heretical at the Œcumenical Council of Orange, 529.

As St. Vincent's *Commentary* was written before the final decision of the Church, Benedict XIV admits the fact as an apology for the Saint. There is something in these writings which involves difficulties of interpretation, and which may be due to apprehension that he was treading upon dangerous ground, and which gave Cardinal Newman the impression that St. Vincent's principles were suited better to interpret what was not, rather than what was, the Catholic doctrine. According to Herrera, he died in the year 434.

'Founded about the year 400 by the holy men Caprasius and Honoratus, it is said that in those early times the (Lérins) community lived under the rule and constitutions of St. Augustine. In the time of Aigulphus, who became Abbot in 651, the Benedictine rule was introduced. It is possible that they returned again to their original rule at a later date.'¹

¹ Herrera, L., 26.

Lérins had been the home and school of many celebrated men. Our records speak of St. Eucherius under the date 463. 'He was a man of extraordinary faith and learning, and was the scion of a noble senatorial family. After his conversion to the Faith he adopted the religious life and habit at Lérins. He spent much time in a lonely cave, persevering in prayer and penitential works. Through an angelic revelation he was called to the Episcopal See of Lyons.'¹ As a monk of Lérins he lived under the Augustinian rule, 'and after he became Bishop he took the care of the community upon himself.'² He attended several Councils. After many labours for the glory of Christ he died on November 16, 463.

¹ *Martyrologium Romanum.*

² Herrera.

CHAPTER V

SUBSEQUENT CENTURIES

THE fifth century saw the collapse of Roman power and Roman civilisation in Spain. The shock of the great Barbarian migrations was being felt from the Danube to the Mediterranean. In the year 404 Vandal hordes were fighting their way through the passes of the Pyrenees. The legionaries entrusted with the defence of this important outpost of the Empire were crushed by overwhelming numbers, and the invaders carried their savage conquest into the heart of the country. It was a campaign that developed into merciless massacre and plunder, in which neither peasant nor patrician was spared; and ten years later, when the Gothic invaders followed, they found Spain a land of desolation, with the spectre of famine and pestilence hovering over the homes of the people.

The long lines of Gothic warriors who marched through the mountain barriers could not conceal their surprise at finding themselves masters of a new country without having to draw a sword. The gates of the cities lay open to them. The people wanted peace and food, and after the ordeal of surrender and submission we see victor and vanquished merging all their national antipathies and working together in the fields to save the despairing population from starvation.

The Goth had come to stay. He soon consolidated his position as the conqueror of Spain. He promulgated laws, set up a form of government, and gradually restored the conditions of civilisation. Then from 414 to 711 the destinies of the country were in his hands.

At this period Christianity was widespread in Spain. The Church had survived the pagan persecutions and had

planted the cross in every corner of the country. The people were predominantly Catholic, and in time they began to impress the Teuton mind with the dignity of their ritual and their teaching, and to draw many of these fierce worshippers of the sword to bend the knee at their shrines.

The Goths brought Arianism into Spain and the bishops and clergy of the sect were resolved to make this heresy the religion of the State. Their efforts met with fearless and determined defiance from Catholics all over the country with the result that there were occasional outbreaks of repression and persecution.

During the reign of Agila, who was slain about 554, the increasing numbers of Goths embracing the Catholic faith alarmed the Arian authorities. Yielding to sectarian intolerance, Agila was persuaded to check the lapse of his followers, and the severity of the measures taken against them drove them into armed revolt. Taking advantage of these domestic troubles and with the hope of winning back the province for the Empire, Justinian sent an army into Spain. In one of the battles that followed, Agila was slain, and Athanagild was proclaimed king. He received the crown at Toledo in 555. This new ruler being a Catholic, he immediately restored the rights and privileges of the Church and her institutions.

Up to this period, history tells us little about the Hermits of St. Augustine. We have only the bare evidence of some existing communities which had given four bishops to the Spanish Church: Boniface of Tarragona,¹ Hector of Carthagina,² Eutropius of Valentia,³ and Licentianus of Carthagina.⁴

St. Donatus and his seventy companions came to Spain during the reign of Agila. He founded the monasteries of Setavitana and St. Martin's. One of his associates, St. Nuntius, founded a monastery near Barcelona. During the reign of Athanagild, St. Donatus restored order and discipline amongst the various Hermit communities.

Licentianus Esculanus⁵ speaks of St. Martin's and the Hermits who 'clung fast to the faith of Christ, never allowing

¹ A.D. 429.

² 496.

³ Circa 584.

⁴ Date unknown.

⁵ *Lib. VI, cap. 14.*

the taint of Arianism to enter.' Chronicles tell us that King Athanagild restored the Hermitage of Sisla near Toledo, where his kinsman, Arthuagus, became Abbot.

During the reign of Leovigild, the last of the Arian kings¹, the religious troubles were revived, and revolt spread again through the country. St. Hermenegild, one of his sons, who had secretly become a Catholic, was obliged to fly for refuge to the city of Valentia. There the people proclaimed him king. It was a hasty and ill-considered proceeding and gave rise to his father's suspicions of his having been implicated in the rebellion from the beginning. An army marched against the city and Hermenegild, realising the futility of resistance, fled to the monastery of St. Martin's, where he was discovered kneeling in prayer before the altar. The King, reluctant to slay the prince in the church, sent his brother, Recarred, to call him forth to seek his father's pardon. Hermenegild came without hesitation but the King was determined to punish him, and sent him in chains to the tower of Seville where, on the following Easter, on his refusing to receive communion from the hands of the Arian Bishop, he was put to death. He is honoured as a martyr in the Spanish Church. Marquez tells us that the monastery of St. Martin's was that of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

Before his death Leovigild came to realise the consequences of sectarian intolerance in his kingdom. It kept alive the national divergencies and undermined the foundations of Gothic power and authority. When his son Recarred announced his conversion to the Catholic Faith, he offered no objection.

On assuming the crown, Recarred² acted as political expediency demanded. He proclaimed liberty of conscience, and restored the confiscated property of the clergy and religious. The period of peace that followed continued for nearly a century, and brought a propitious change in the fortunes of the Hermits of St. Augustine. They took advantage of the social and political conditions and founded several new houses.

After this period of peace and progress, came the tidal

¹ d. 586.

² 586-601.

wave of the Moorish invasion. Wittiza the 'impious' was responsible for the final collapse of the Gothic Kingdom in Spain. He was a pagan in morals. He introduced polygamy, enforced monstrous laws against the clergy, and drove the nobles into revolt, with the result that the African invaders found an easy conquest. The battle of Xerses¹ opened the gates of Spain to Islam. Although the Moors did not openly interfere with the Christian beliefs of the people, they seized the monasteries and where ransom was not forthcoming sold numbers of the religious into slavery.

This was the beginning of the darkest age in the history of the Hermits. At the same period they met with disaster in France and Belgium through the raids of the pirate Northmen. These fierce worshippers of Odin swept down along the coasts from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Their galleys sailed up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. They plundered the towns, burned the monasteries, and slaughtered the clergy and religious with merciless sword. Chroniclers tell us that through the persecutions of the Moors in Spain and the raids of the Northmen, the Hermits of St. Augustine lost three hundred houses, whilst ten thousand of their members were martyred, sold into slavery, or cast out as vagrants on the roads of Europe. 'I read of this period,' says Crusenius,² 'when the Hermits sank before the fury of the Moors.' Their monasteries were brought to ruin because, owing to their poverty, they were unable to redeem either themselves or their property; while some of the more opulent institutions, as Julian of Toledo remarks, especially those of the Benedictines, survived. These had abundance of gold and silver, whereby they were able to purchase their liberties from the Barbarian.³ The Hermits made no provision for such emergencies. Their rule said: 'Give all that is superfluous to your needs to the poor.'

Crusenius, reviewing the conditions of the Order during those fateful years, draws together the links of evidence for its survival and continuity. The colossal losses in Spain and France created a serious situation, but under a benign Providence the Order of Hermits progressed in other lands

¹ 711.² Cap. CXIV.³ Julian of Toledo, cap. XVIII.

where conditions of civilisation were more tolerable. They bore their misfortunes like men who set little value on worldly possessions. The fate of their institute was in the hands of God. His Church was indestructible, and all its elements were destined to share in its Divine vitality.

In the beginning of his review, Crusenius speaks of the revival of the Order in Africa after the return of St. Fulgentius and the exiled bishops in 523. Pope Gregory the Great, hoping for the return of the glories of the African Church, encouraged the restoration of its early monasticism. Numbers of Hermits accompanied Fulgentius from Sardinia and Italy to supply the priesthood, while the Apostolic Delegate chosen by the Pope to preside at the Councils was Hilary, an Augustinian Hermit.¹

There was a period of progress until the seventh century, when the crescent replaced the cross in all the land of Augustine. The Hermits were once again forced into exile. On leaving Africa they travelled into different European countries. Some of them, Chroniclers tell us, reached Ireland, where they were associated with Irish monks in the establishment of the Monastic school of Bangor. St. Comgall and St. Columbanus are said to have adopted from them the rule and habit of St. Augustine.²

Despite their reverses of fortune the Hermits continued their activities from the seventh century onwards. Crusenius tells us of the foundation of new houses in Italy, Spain, and France: Ilicetana founded in the year 600; Venice about the same time; the monasteries of St. Christopher, Torres Vedras, Penna Firma, in Portugal in 700; a monastery in Bavaria, in 800; St. Genasius' near Carthagina, in 800; St. Thomas's, Prague and Burgos, in the year 1000, and many others.

The spiritual needs of humanity in those ages called for workers in many fields. The services of the Hermits were eagerly sought for, as they placed themselves under the jurisdiction and at the service of the bishops, adapted themselves to ecclesiastical conditions, and took their places

¹ Epis. 82, L.B. 1; Epis. 2, l. 6, 116.

² Richardinus, Chron. Anno 624; Hieronimus Romanus, Cent. 5, Anno 593; Louis de Angelis, *Lib.* IV, c. 19; Marquez, CXV, 6.

where required in the sacred ministry. They were everywhere engaged in preaching and in educational work. 'They were engaged by the bishops,' says Peter Gregorianus, 'to preach and to convert the people to the faith of Christ, and, when converted, to help them to persevere in the same faith.'¹ Their houses were always centres of learning in those days, before the organisation of Ecclesiastical Seminaries, and we can estimate the value of their work in preparing aspirants to the priesthood.

The age-long reserve of silence maintained by the Hermits of St. Augustine regarding their institute, their lives and their work, would seem to have been a characteristic of their mortification. They never wrote of themselves, and it is only from contemporary documents of the passing years that we are able to gather anything of their history.

Blessed Jordan de Sax deplores this attitude of his brethren where he says: 'Whether during the long interval of years between the dispersion in Africa and the time of Innocent, our brethren of the Order survived, I find no authentic document to inform me; hence I do not wish to write of that period. Nevertheless, one thing is certain, namely that the Holy Institute of St. Augustine did not become entirely extinct, but through some good brethren living in pious simplicity, it continued up to the year of Our Lord 1215, when the Lateran Council was celebrated by Pope Innocent III.'²

Other writers, however, who have gone more deeply into the records of the centuries, have found evidence of the existence of over eighty houses founded in various countries of Europe between the year 850 and 1200. About the year 1110, when greater facilities for inter-communication brought the Hermits into closer contact, a widespread international movement appeared, beginning with the grouping of houses into national provinces under the supervision of Provincials. This movement had its initiative in the appointment of a Superior General with jurisdiction over the scattered communities.³

Henry de Urimarius in his history of the Order gives the

¹ Crusenius, C. XVI.

² Vita Fratrum, 14.

³ Hieronimus Romanus, IV; Laurentius Bullarius p. 393; Marquez, XIII, 19.

name of four of these Generals. 'Since the time of the Blessed Augustine,' he says, 'there were many pastors of the said Order, but owing to neglect of writing or to the great distance of time they have passed into oblivion; yet, from ancient documents and Fathers, I have gathered that about the year 1110 John de Spelunca became "Visitator General of the Order," and that he lived till the Pontificate of Alexander III. Then followed John, called John de Cello, in the Pontificate of Innocent III; then Avitus de Grazano, in the Pontificate of Gregory IX; and he was followed by Philip Dexter who lived until the Union.'¹ Pascas de Daretia was Visitator General of the Order in Spain in 1243.

Little is known of these men beyond their names and their office, but the outstanding fact of the appointment of superior generals for the Order in all countries and with Apostolic approbation, gives strength to the claim that the Hermits had retrieved their position in the Church two hundred years before the Union, and long before the congregations of Buonites or Williamites appeared. As far back as 1110 there were Provincials in Portugal and Spain as well as in Italy. John de Spelunca was an Italian and his appointment was made by the Roman authorities. It is not certain whether he was the first, or whether John de Cello was his immediate successor. Pamphilus regarded this General as belonging to the congregation of John Buon, but Marquez, Urimarius, and others, claim that the office which he held could have been assigned only to a member of the Order. Avitus de Grazano belonged to the monastery of Ilicetana. His death occurred in the year 1255, when Philip Dexter, who was also known as Philip de Parma, succeeded him.²

Cardinal Baronius makes a statement which has no warranty in history when he says that the 'Order of Hermits received this title from Pope Innocent III, when previously they were known as Williamites.' Possibly he is referring to the papal action in giving the 'Rule of the Order' to this congregation, after which they were allowed to assume the title.

¹ 1256.

² Marquez, XIII, 19.

More than a hundred writers acknowledge the antiquity of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and the unbroken continuity with the first Hermits which was maintained throughout the centuries. At the Council of the Lateran 1215, and that of Lyons 1245, these claims to antiquity and continuity were expressly recognised. In the 'fascicule' of the Lateran¹ we find the Hermits of St. Augustine recognised with the Carmelites as having been founded previous to the convocation of the Councils; and at the same Council 'the Preachers, Minors, Carmelites, and Augustinians were admitted to the privileges of "Mendicants."' It was also decided at these assemblies that 'the Hermits of St. Augustine and the Carmelites continue in their original status.' Thus, as Trullus remarks, 'the Order of Hermits, under Innocent and Honorius was honoured in its distinct title, not because the Order had its beginning at the time of these Pontiffs.'² 'Under the patronage of the Apostolic See,' says Binio, 'we find Augustine's Hermits coming from the obscurity of Asia, and the wilds of Africa, to flourish in European countries.'³

Their reverses of fortune in the 'dark ages' might have resulted in their complete extinction, but through undying faith in adversity and undaunted energy in reorganisation they saved their institute from ruin. Not only did they survive, but they continued as a factor of importance in their ecclesiastical environments, and have left us evidence of their spiritual vitality in the number of their Saints and Beati.

Alexander IV, whilst expressing his admiration for the patient labour of years which had saved the Order from extinction, and had retrieved for it its ancient place and prestige in the ecclesiastical history of the world, pays a noble tribute to the men whose memory was consecrated in the work. During the first year of his pontificate, Alexander issued a Bull⁴, at Viterbo, in which he says: 'From the earliest beginnings, the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, co-operating with the Divine Grace, has progressed from virtue to virtue, as a prolific tree planted in

¹ *Domibus Religionis*, c. vi.

³ *Tom. III*, p. 1562.

² *Vita Honorius IV*, *Tom. III*.

⁴ IV Ides of April.

the vineyard of the Lord, bearing in profusion the flowers of Sanctity, and yielding in abundance the fruits of the exalted life of Religious observance. For its sanctification and its works of merit, the Order remains singularly distinguished.¹

From the beginning of his reign this Pontiff took an active interest in the scheme, initiated by his predecessors, for uniting with the Order the various congregations that had adopted its rule and assumed its title of 'Hermits of St. Augustine.'

The movement for the amalgamation of these bodies of religious under one Superior General dated from the Lateran Council of 1215, but was interrupted by the wars in which the Holy See became involved. It was revived during the Pontificates of Honorius III and Innocent IV, when the Tuscan houses of Hermits came into the Order, out of respect for the Apostolic Appeal. The larger congregations of the Buonite and Williamite Hermits vigorously opposed the scheme on the plea that it would disrupt their Eremite enclosures and deprive them of their autonomy and the advantages of the contemplative life.²

Opposition was more marked on the part of the Williamites who had houses in Germany and France, some of which had been originally houses of the Order. With these diverse nationalities it was difficult to deal, especially at a time when European countries were politically divided. Rather than submit to the Union some of these Williamite congregations went over to the Benedictine Order.

The Buonite Hermits were founded by St. John Buon, a member of the noble family of Buonuomini of Mantua. He was born in 1168 or, according to Gualterus, in 1159. In consequence of a vow which he had taken during an illness he disposed of his inheritance to the poor, and retired into the solitudes of the Apennines to devote his life to works of penance and prayer. With the sanction of the Bishop of Coesenata, he erected a small oratory and dwelling where he spent about thirty years practising the greatest austerities.

¹ Libreria Angelica ; Marquez, III, 9.

² At this time the Hermits were establishing their houses in the towns and cities, and were taking up the work of the public ministry to which the congregations objected.

Blessed Jordan de Sax says 'that when the fame of his sanctity spread abroad, many were attracted to him, and amongst them the Blessed Francis who founded the Order of Minors. His associates became so numerous in time that he had to send them to find other places of retreat. They formed themselves into hermit communities, but had no approbation or rule; the Apostolic See gave them the rule of St. Augustine.'¹ St. John was then chosen as Superior General of these various communities, an office which he held for several years. Jordan de Sax says that 'a short time before his death, in order that he might enjoy more freedom for contemplation and prayer, he resigned his office and retired again to a secluded spot in the neighbourhood of Mantua. Here, after serving God devoutly, he ended his days on October 23, 1249.' His followers raised great monasteries at Cœsenata, Budriola, Mantua, Ravenata and other places. They had eleven houses at the time of their Union with the Order, 1256. The process for the Canonisation of St. John was prepared by the Bishop of Mantua immediately after his death, but the proceedings were interrupted with the result that four hundred years elapsed before he was numbered amongst the Saints.

St. William, founder of the Williamite Hermits, was born in 1100. He was hereditary Duke of Aquitania and was connected with several of the royal houses of Europe. In youth he was destined by family circumstances to adopt a military career in which he gained some celebrity. He unfortunately embraced the cause of Peter Leon who was prominent in the schism of the anti-popes which rent the Christian Church at that period; but St. Bernard brought him to realise the situation, and in a true Christian spirit he resolved to make reparation and to do penance. He then undertook a humble pilgrimage to Compostella and Jerusalem, and on his return he joined the Tuscan Hermits of St. Augustine in the monastery of 'Silva Livallia,' where he spent two years. Here he was invested with the habit and cincture of the Order and made his profession in the usual way. With the intention of spreading the Order of St. Augustine, he went to Siena in 1154 where he founded

¹ *Lib. I, 10.*

the great monastery of 'Stabula Rhodes.' The great wealth still at his disposal was freely lavished upon this community, and within a short time several new houses sprang from it, and communities spread from Italy into France and Germany. St. William died in 1156 at the age of fifty-six and was buried at Stabula.

In his last testament the Saint deplores his many sins. 'Not one hour have I been without sin, and now in the little time that remains I commend myself to God, Whom, having left all things, I desire to serve.' He specifies the dowries of his daughters, Eleanor and Pentronvilla, whom he commends to God, and 'lest he should seem ungrateful and not remember the good and charitable works of his ancestors, he desires to encourage the progress of his society of the servants of God.'

He bequeathed to all the monasteries of his dominions 1000 'libras' and the distribution of lands to them as it should please his Barons.

Some threads of fiction have been woven into the story of his life. Some writers, differing with regard to the date of his death, say that after his tomb had been erected and his epitaph written he was known to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The most authentic information is found in Theobald's *life*. According to him he was professed by Prior Peter at Livallia (near Siena) and was a Hermit of the Order of St. Augustine in every sense of the word.

Peter Natalis¹ says that 'after he had endured many labours, coming to the Tuscan and Pisan fields he lingered at the island called Livallia and became familiar with the Hermits of St. Augustine. Having received their habit and cincture, and learned their rule of life, he devoutly visited their places in all Etruria. Coming to Centumcellas, he there studied the book of St. Augustine on the Blessed Trinity. From these surroundings he proceeded to Rome, and from thence to Ariminum to found the same Order, at which place the Brotherhood originally called Hermits of St. Augustine assumed the name of Williamites.'

After the Saint's death the different houses grouped themselves together as an independent congregation. The

¹ Cap. II.

advantages afforded them by the founder's wealth enabled them to raise monasteries which surpassed all others in splendour and magnitude. In the Papal Bull granting them the approbation of the Holy See they are called 'the Hermits of St. William of the Order of St. Augustine,' a manner of address used by the Papal authorities to distinguish them from the 'Order of Hermits of St. Augustine.'

The Tuscan congregations comprised the Brittinians, so called from their famous monastery of 'St. Blasius de Brittens' situated near Fano. They had been founded only four years when they were united with the Order. There were other houses of religious not specified in the Bull, *Licet Ecclesiæ*, which were drawn into the 'Union': such as the 'Hermits of Holy Trinity,' the 'Hermits of Penance,' of 'St. Benedict of Fabuli,' 'Vallis Hirsute,' and 'St. Mary de Murceto.' In the year 1243, Pope Innocent IV united these congregations with the Order, placing them under the jurisdiction of the General, with Cardinal Richard de St. Angelo as their 'Protector.' The Bull *Incumbit nobis* was addressed to all these Tuscan houses of Hermits, 'except those of the Williamites.'

The union of these various congregations with the Order occupied the attention of the Popes for nearly forty years. 'Innocent,' says St. Antoninus, 'considering how the Orders of Preachers and Minors increased, and with such salutary benefit to the Church of God, conceived the idea that it might be brought to pass that the Hermits of St. Augustine, who gathered the rewards of the holier life to themselves, would, in like manner as the Preachers and Minors, labour to produce the fruits of Sanctification in the Church.'¹

The activities of the new Orders of Preachers and Minors were watched with interest and undoubtedly with appreciation by Rome. The influence which they were gaining over the multitudes gave promise of spiritual results beyond the dreams of the ecclesiastical authorities. Preaching in public places, they were constantly in conflict with the heretical and fanatical elements of the period. Over these they soon gained a decisive victory, driving them from the scenes of their orgies and bringing back their victims to the practice

¹ Par. 14, 24; Marquez, Cap. XIII, 111.

of Christian penitence. In their journeys from town to town the poor preachers of Francis brought about a mysterious awakening of religious fervour which penetrated even into sections of Society that had seemed utterly lost in laxity and indifference.

It is interesting to follow the development of the Franciscan institute, which in the course of the years became identical in every aspect with the organisation of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. In the beginning the followers of St. Francis were homeless itinerant preachers of the Gospel. They worked or begged for their food. They slept in the porches of the churches, or in the barns of the peasants. They were a religious body emerging from the democracy, to the scandal of the medieval monasticism of the time. They spread far beyond the boundaries of Umbria, and their rapidly increasing numbers at length called for a system of control and organisation.

Under the influence of circumstances, the system which they adopted was the same in character as that which from its foundation had prevailed in the institute of their Augustinian contemporaries. The Hermit, like the Minor, was a poor man of Christ. He gave to the poor all that was superfluous to his own humble needs. His monastery was poor and unpretentious. Under the jurisdiction of the bishops, he laboured for the salvation of souls in that silence that enshrouded the lives of his brethren through the ages. The work which the Minors took up had been the work of the Hermits for years, and it was to strengthen their ranks, and to extend their sphere of labour, that the Roman Pontiffs thought of drawing from their contemplative seclusion the congregations that had taken their rule.

In the first year of his reign¹ Alexander IV embarked on practical and insistent measures to effect a solution of the difficulties that had kept the Buonite and Williamite houses from accepting the proposals of his predecessors. He gave authoritative instructions to Cardinal Richard de St. Angelo to summon together the Superiors of each house for consultation. A solution of the outstanding objection should be found.

During the same year he addressed three Bulls to the Order, as distinct from the congregations, Buonite and Williamite, renewing the Apostolic patronage and confirming special faculties and privileges in connection with the 'Triennial' election of the Prior General. The election of Philip Dexter had taken place that year and by November, 1255, it was agreed to hold a general chapter for all the Italian houses of 'Hermit congregations' and those of other countries as could be represented. It was fixed for the Kalands of March in the following year at the monastery of Sta Maria del Popolo, Rome. At this assembly Philip Dexter resigned his office and by a unanimous vote Lanfranc of Milan was elected General of the United Order. He had been General of the Buonites and was held in the highest esteem by the whole assembly for his piety, ability, and learning.

Alexander confirmed the election by the Bull *Licet Ecclesiæ*, which was soon supplemented by a rescript on the disposition of work, and the place which was to be assigned to the Hermits of St. Augustine in the ministry. In this he expresses the wish that they would enter into the towns and villages to preach, to visit the sick, to console the afflicted, to administer the sacraments, and to give fruitful service to the Church. St. Antoninus says that it was in anticipation of having to enter into the public work of the ministry in which the Order was already engaged that the dissenting Hermits opposed for such a length of time any voluntary approach to a 'Union.' 'Unwilling to leave their hermitages where they had vowed to serve God in solitude and to expose themselves to contact with mundane things in the midst of worldly men, the Lord Pontiff wished to respect their devotion. Hence, whilst the other members of the communities might labour with salutary fruit amongst the people, he ordained that the Priors in Office in each place, and according to their dispositions, would allow those of their subjects who so desired, to follow the contemplative hermit life.'¹

Pamphilus² and Jordan de Sax³ say that this chapter decided upon uniformity with regard to the habit that was to be worn. 'It was agreed that the exterior habit (worn in public)

¹ Part III, c. xiv.² F. 26.³ *Lib.* I, c. 14.

of the Order of St. Augustine, namely the black cowl, and of no other colour, with the long flowing sleeves, and girt with a long cincture, should be adopted ;¹ whilst the under vesture might be of another colour according to custom already followed.'

It was decided to leave the dissenting Williamites of Germany and France in peace. Through the Holy See they were allowed to adopt the Benedictine rule, but not as an independent body. It is said that some of those communities situated 'beyond the mountains,' after some time of deliberation and correspondence, agreed to unreserved submission to the General.

By the Bull *Inter alias sollicitudines* Cardinal Richard de St. Angelo was again constituted 'Protector' of the Order, with such jurisdiction conferred by Apostolic mandate as to supersede that exercised by the Bishops before the 'Union.' In this way the whole Order, with the Cardinal Protector, the General and his 'curia,' the Provincials and Priors, came directly under the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs.

The French, German, Austrian, and Spanish Provinces, organised within national limits, needed no change ; but owing to the increase in the Italian houses, the new Provinces of Pisa, the Marches, Lombardy, and Romandiola were formed.

Emissaries were nominated to visit the houses and to promote the reorganisation and spread of the Order in countries outside Italy. Guido Salanus and Andrew Senensis were deputed to Germany, Marcus Ventonus and Peter Ugubio to France, John Lombardus and Paschas Dareta to Spain, and William Sengham to England. Sengham, who had gained some celebrity amongst ecclesiastics and writers of his day, represented English Hermit congregation at the chapter, and some years after his return he reported that twenty houses had been reorganised under the rule of St. Augustine.

During the ten years of Lanfranc's administration the Order made rapid progress. Ancient foundations were strengthened and new houses were founded in Spain and

¹ Previously the Williamites wore brown habits, and the Buonites grey.

France. In Germany the Order made remarkable progress. The great monasteries of Worms, Würzburg, Mainz, Nuremberg, Speyer, Strasbourg and Ratisbon, each housing large communities, sprang rapidly into prominence. In twenty years the province had grown to such dimensions that it became necessary to subdivide it, and four new provinces were organised, namely those of Cologne, Saxony, Bavaria, and Rhenish Swabia.

The isolation of the Williamite congregations in Germany was not destined to continue. They were at variance amongst themselves, and out of six communities four decided on submission to the German Provincial. The matter, which involved questions of jurisdiction and community rights, was brought before Leo, Bishop of Ratisbon, and a court of clergy including Franciscans and Dominicans, with the result that the communities were considered justified in their secession from the German congregation. A letter regarding the decision was issued by the Bishop, dated 1263.¹

The 'Union' which drew the scattered Hermits into closer co-operation strengthened their ranks and marked the beginning of a new era in their history. In the Order at this time there were bishops, distinguished theologians, and learned writers. There were living at the time one great saint, Nicholas of Tolentino, and seven Beati, Blessed Angelo of Furcio, Blessed Antony of Ravenna, Blessed Ambrose of Florence, Blessed Bartholomew of Palazzola, Blessed Erthnodius Bota, Blessed Vito of Pannonia, and Blessed Theobald of Verona.

¹ Leo Epis., Ratisbon.

CHAPTER VI

AUGUSTINIAN HOUSES BEFORE AND AT THE 'UNION'

A REVIEW of the position of the Order showing its unbroken links with antiquity, and the number of new monasteries founded during the century preceding the 'Union,' should give additional interest to these pages. At the Lateran Council there was no question regarding the Augustinian claims either to their distinct title of 'Hermits of St. Augustine,' or to their continuity from the early African Hermits. Their strength in membership and houses at that time, their international co-operation, their progressive activities in the Apostolate of the Church, gained for them the Apostolic approbation, and the status of one of the four great mendicant Orders.

In the preceding pages we have already given the testimony of our records in connection with the ancient houses of Niri-diana, Setavitana, Sisle, Cauliniano, De Saras, and St. Martin's. There are several other ancient houses in this important group, such as Ilicetana, 600, St. Genasius, 876, Venice, 946, Penna Firma, 850, Logrogno, 950, and Gallecia, 759.

The following account of the many other foundations dating back in the centuries, and surviving through the Middle Ages, will enable us to form an estimate of the strength of the Order at the time of the Lateran Council.

Houses of the Order from the ninth to the thirteenth century.

Ilicetana,¹ one of the important monasteries in Italy, founded in the year 600, was in the vicinity of Siena. It became the retreat of many holy and illustrious men. Historians refer to Ilicetana as the *Domum Sacrum*, the holy

¹ Spelled also 'Iliceta,' 'Ilicetum.'

house of the Servants of God, and as 'the tree planted by the running waters, which, in its time produced fruit in abundance.' Cornelius Lancelotte,¹ Louis de Angelis,² and Cardinal Aegidius pay tribute to its memories, adding their testimony to the historical fact that this hermitage gave thirty Saints and Beati to the Church. One of the interesting items on its records relates to St. Francis of Assisi. According to John Baptist Sequinus, Herrera,³ and other writers, 'Francis, son of Bernadoni of Assisi, before he brought into existence the Order of Minors, came to Ilicetana and dwelt there for some time.' Blessed Ambrose Sansadonius of the Dominican Order, when a boy of sixteen, was also a visitor to the hermitage. Felix, a member of the Community, was spiritual adviser to those two holy youths.⁴ It is said of Felix that he yielded up these two gems of the religious life whom he might have held for his own community, remarking that 'these two illustrious examples of the spiritual life were not destined to lie hidden in the garden of the Hermitage.' He yielded them up to others so that the growth of the religious life might enrich the Church.

Ilicetana preserved its connection with the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine down through the centuries. Francis Thomas, Historian of Siena, affirms that in his time, 1050, the place was occupied by Hermits of St. Augustine. An incident deserving of record occurred in 1408. In that year the Canons Regular took possession of Ilicetana. As they had documents given them by Pope Gregory XII, authorising them to establish themselves in the Hermitage, the community submitted with some exceptions. In the same year the citizens of Siena protested against the change, and the Hermits' rule was restored with all their ancient privileges. It is said that several of the Hermits who had left, including Blessed Philip Leonardus, returned.

Ilicetana 'spread its branches afar.' Several other houses were founded from it, namely the monasteries of St. Anthony, Villa Aspera, St. Anthony del Bosco, Monte Spilunca, San Geminiana, St. Martin of Siena, St. Galli of Florence, St. Stephen's of Viterbo, the monastery of Montefalco, and some others.

¹ p. 196.² IV, 18.³ P., 492.⁴ Herrera, P., 493.

Not far distant from Ilicetana was the hermitage of St. Leonard de Silva, the retreat of Blessed Augustine Novello. Some time before the 'General Union' Cardinal Anabaldesci brought about the amalgamation of this house with Ilicetana. It was at Silva, called in some documents Livallia, that St. William of Aquitaine made his profession. During the centuries this house gave many illustrious prelates to the Church, and learned Professors and Superiors General to the Order, whilst it was the retreat of holy Confessors whose memory sheds lustre upon its history.

In the records of Ilicetana we find the name of William Flette, an English Augustinian, who about the year 1350 made a pilgrimage to Italy. With the permission of the Superior General he attached himself to the Community of Ilicetana because he found there the most rigorous observance of the rule and constitutions. His love for the austere contemplative life and his remarkable piety became known to St. Catherine of Siena, who sought his advice on various occasions.

Some letters addressed by this Saint to Father Flette are quoted by historians of the Order. She addressed him at one time as 'Brother William of Iliceta,' at another as 'Brother William of England.' At one time she begs his prayers and those of the Community 'for peace in the country.' In one letter she asks for his prayers and those of Brother Anthony, Brother John, and Brother Felix, that Almighty God might send peace, while she relates how the Priests were being forced to carry on the sacred ministry in places under interdict. In other letters the Saint exhorts him to labour for perfection, and to receive into religion a young man named Mathew Forestanus. In the most remarkable letter of the series she calls upon William and his companions to abandon their solitude, and, during the troubled times, to give the services of their priesthood to the Pontiff and the Church. William Flette died in 1380. Flette wrote letters to his brethren in England warning them of the coming disasters to the Church.¹

¹ Letters preserved at Trinity College Library, Dublin.

Siena.

The monastery of Siena, which was founded from Ilicitana, and which in the course of the centuries became one of the important institutions of the Order in Italy, was 'situated close to the arch.' A document drawn up by a public notary in 1201 bears evidence to its antiquity and to the high place the community held in the popular esteem. In that year the Prior, Father Nicholas, Father Seraph, and Father Alamanno, were commissioned to act as advocates and judges in civil courts. It was a house of some literary activity. The sermons of St. Augustine for Lent and Advent were edited here by Father Jeronimus Francis.

In 1431 the community acquired the convent of St. Martha for the education of students of the Order, the acquisition being confirmed some years later by Pope Pius II.

In 1557 the buildings were burned by the German soldiers invading Italy. Writing of the disaster, the Prior General says: 'The edifice, unsurpassed in beauty of architecture, and which was occupied by a Community of over sixty, accommodates only eighteen at the present time.' Blessed Augustine of Terano, and several bishops and learned men were members of the Siena community.

Venice.

Another celebrated house of this period was that dedicated to 'Our Lady of Nazareth' at Venice. It occupied a position outside the city and was a foundation of great antiquity. According to the historian Leander Albertus, quoted by Crusenius,¹ this house of the Order gave three Patriarchs to the city of Venice, 'Dominic David of the Order of Hermits, Boniface Valerian and Michael Carthago of the same order.' Crusenius remarks that he had seen in the Patriarchal Hall the portraits of those three illustrious Augustinians clad in habit and cincture of the Order. Dominic David is said to have been the thirteenth Bishop of Venice. Marquez, Claudio Robertus, and Leander Albertus place the probable date of his appointment as the

¹ CXV.

year 946. Boniface Valerian was elected in 1131.¹ Michael Carthago succeeded him in the same century.

Some of the Community were transferred from Our Lady of Nazareth's to the Church of St. Stephen within the city. The exact date is not known, but it is evident that they were established at St. Stephen's when in 1059 the place was destroyed by fire. Marquez² refers to it at this date as the Church of St. Augustine.

We find reference to the Hermits of St. Augustine at Venice in various public documents, and in the registers of the Order. Sansonius (historian of Venice) refers to the burial there of Andrew, Duke of Cantarini, in 1382. We find reference also to 'the noble and generous citizen of Venice John Mauraceno, a benefactor who defrayed all the cost of the restoration of the monastery and church. Amongst the illustrious men whose names are preserved in chronicles are Gabriel De Venitus, Prior General, Petrus de Verutine, Bishop of Vadiensis, 1415, and Philip Paruta, Archbishop of Cretensis.

Sta Maria del Popolo.

The important monastery of the Order, Sta Maria del Popolo, Rome, was founded during the period reviewed by Crusenius. In the place where the church and monastery are situated the remains of the cruel persecutor of the early Christians, Nero, were buried. It was the popular idea that the place was infested by devils. In the year 1100 Nero's bones were burned and the ashes cast into the Tiber. Pope Paschal II exorcised the place and through public subscriptions the magnificent church and house were erected. Hermits of St. Augustine were brought from the Tuscan monasteries to take charge; and, assisted by ten Cardinals and thirty-three Bishops, the Pontiff consecrated the church and at the same time granted numerous indulgences to all who visited the sacred building. In 1227 Pope Gregory IX, in order to encourage the great devotion of the Roman people, transferred to *del Popolo* from the Lateran Basilica the venerated picture of the Blessed Mother and Child attributed to the brush of St. Luke. This remarkable picture is still

¹ Herrera, B., 103; Leander Albertus.

² XLV.

to be seen in one of the side chapels. During the succeeding centuries the Roman Pontiffs continued to enrich the church with many indulgences. Paul III included it in the privileges granted to the Confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament. The Bull of Paul IV granting an indulgence of 1000 years is an example of the spiritual benefits gained by the populace whose devotion drew them to Sta Maria del Popolo.

The church, being situated close to the Flaminian gate of the city, was badly damaged in the time of Paul IV. A besieging army made this gate the object of their attack. The General of the Order appealed to the Augustinian communities all over the world for funds to carry out the repairs. At the present time this church is one of the great attractions in the Eternal City. Amongst the illustrious men whose names are on the ancient records of this house we find that of Cardinal Aegidius Colonna, Franciscus Mellinum, Bishop of Senogallia, and Cæsar de Ursinus, a man illustrious for his sanctity.

The historical Chapter which brought about the union of the various congregations in Italy with the Order was held at Sta Maria del Popolo in the year 1256. For over a thousand years the church and its monastery have been in the possession of the Augustinian Fathers.

Penna Firma.

Despite the disasters suffered in Spain during the Moorish conquest, several houses of Hermits continued to survive, and from the ninth to the eleventh century we find records of new foundations, such as Penna Firma, SS. Saviour's and Claudius', Braga, St. Christopher's della Foes, in the province of Lusitania, St. Genasius near Carthagina, Burgos, and other houses.

Eutrandus¹ says that St. Anciradus, who is honoured as a martyr, came from Germany to Portugal about the year 850 and established a house of Hermits of St. Augustine on the banks of the River Tagus. Here he dwelt for some years. He was martyred on a return journey to Germany. The community which he had assembled continued to

¹ Era 888.

occupy the monastery, which in course of time became identified as St. Saviour's, Penna Firma. Amongst items of history given by Marquez,¹ we find a lengthy document² relating to concessions of lands granted to the Hermits by local authorities. 'By mandate and consent of Senor John Gondisalvos, almoner of the King of Portugal, we grant and give to Brother Gaibilino, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, and to the Hermits of the present time and the future, the hereditaments which we hold in the territory of Penna-Firma, etc.' The same author refers to the rebuilding of the monastery, probably at this period.³

The monastery of St. Christopher della Foes, in Portugal, the home of Blessed John Cirita, was an ancient foundation. King Alphonsus and John, Bishop of Portugal, are mentioned as founders, but it is probable that they were at this time only benefactors. Some authors think that the house was originally intended for Cistercians, but in the *Monarchia Lusitana*⁴ it is named 'the Monastery of John Cirita, Doctor, and of his Augustinian Hermits.' Brandome also refers to the Royal document which removed all doubt regarding the religious character of the institute: 'I, Alphonsus, son of Count Henry and Queen Tarasia, nephew of the glorious Emperor Alphonsus, for the glory and praise of Christ our Lord, and out of love for the holy martyr St. Christopher, as well as for the good of my soul, bestow, by these writings, possession of the Church of St. Christopher della Foes, upon those Hermits who dwell there, namely, John Cirita, Prior of the said place, and all others there who belong to the Hermit Order at the present time, through the hands of John, Bishop of Portugal, founder of the said house.'⁵

St. Bernard, sending a company of his monks to establish themselves in Portugal and to preach to infidels, advised them to seek John Cirita. They were hospitably received at St. Christopher's, and through the influence of the Prior letters were granted by the King allowing them to erect a monastery in the kingdom. When their buildings were complete, John Cirita, yielding to their prayers, became their

¹ XVII, 4. ² A.D. 1226. ³ Cap. XII, 1.
⁴ Cap. V. ⁵ Era 1132.

first Abbot. It was not unusual in these days to find religious communities governed by superiors of another order.

St. Genasius.

Eutrandus¹ tells us of exiled Hermits coming 'from Gaul and founding the monastery of St. Genasius, near Carthagina Sparta.' These Hermits brought with them the remains of St. Adelard, which they buried in their church. Some writers, including Julian of Toledo, express the belief that St. Adelard had been for some time Abbot of Cordova, and for this reason his companions sought to lay him to rest amid the scenes where he had spent his days of penance and prayer. Owing to the Moorish occupation of the city of Cordova, they chose a place near Carthagina where they raised the Church of St. Genasius. Here the 'illustrious and devout follower of the Blessed Augustine' was honoured for his great sanctity and became renowned for his miracles.²

Alcozer relates the story of his brother, Ronald, who, yielding to a desire to visit the place, came to St. Genasius and lingered there till he died. He was buried beside the Saint.

After the Moors had been driven from Toledo, the ancient monastery of St. Mary near that city was restored by the King, who called the Hermits of St. Genasius to take possession of it for the Order.

Burgos.

The Augustine monastery of St. Andrew at Burgos, Spain, was founded about 1094.³ Azores places the date at 1149. This monastery became celebrated through the possession of a miraculous crucifix which was placed in the care of the Hermits at the date mentioned by Azores. From the traditional account of Bishop Don Rodrigo⁴ we learn that a company of merchant mariners found the crucifix in a case floating on the sea. Their attention was attracted by

¹ Era 867.

³ Marquez, C. XVII, 5, and others.

² Crusenius, XIV.

⁴ Pars I, C. ii.

a light that illuminated the case. Taking it reverently from the water they discovered the cross which they carried to Burgos and placed in the charge of 'five Augustinian Fathers dwelling at the Church of St. Andrew.' It was then enshrined in a chapel where it became the object of great popular devotion. Other traditions say that originally the crucifix belonged to Joseph of Arimathea. St. Dominic de Silos and St. Julianus of Burgos held the crucifix in the greatest veneration, and were accustomed to celebrate their daily Mass in its chapel.¹

Amongst the patrons and benefactors of the Augustinian Hermits at Burgos were Blanche, Infanta of Portugal, and Sanchez IV, King of Castile. Blanche had become a Cistercian nun, and was Abbess of the celebrated monastery of Heulgas. Amongst the illustrious Augustinians of Burgos we find the names of Roderic de St. Martino, Bishop of Sebastinensis, Alvarus de Silos, Bishop of Idumea, John de Vega, and others who held important positions in the Church and were conspicuous for their learning and sanctity.

Pivoniense.

In Germany also there was considerable activity during this period. A monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist and the Blessed Virgin was founded in 1040 at Britislaw, John, Duke of Bohemia, being the Hermits' principal patron. He bestowed many privileges upon the monastery, which was known as 'Pivoniense.' He restored and enlarged the church and erected a sepulchre in which he desired to be buried after his death. Seven years after the completion of the work which he had undertaken on the church, it was consecrated by Bishop Severus of Bohemia. Bartholdus Pontanus² says that in the Bohemian province there were eleven houses of Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine. There are records of remarkable activity spreading over the period A.D. 900 to 1200. Ancient foundations were restored whilst new houses were established.

¹ Gabray, *Lib.* XII, 21.

² *Lib.* IV, 53.

Cordova.

There was an ancient monastery of Augustinian Hermits at Cordova, in Spain, which was destroyed by the Moors on the occupation of the city. It is said that about the year 410 Leporius, a Hermit belonging to this house and a disciple of St. Augustine, became Bishop of Utica. In 1236 the Hermits returned again and restored their church and monastery under the patronage of St. Achatius. Ferdinand, who had driven out the Moors, extended to them his royal patronage. In the year 1310 they obtained a new site, the 'Castrum vetus,' where they raised a magnificent church and extensive monastic buildings. King Alphonsus XI confirmed the acquisition of this position and became their patron in different ways. The records of this house preserve the memory of several eminent Augustinians. The church was a notable centre of devotion as it contained the relics of SS. Servandus and Germanus, and miraculous images of Our Blessed Lady and St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

Cintra.

The monastery and church under the patronage of St. Saturnianus at Cintra were founded during the reign of Alphonsus I, 1169. During the great pestilence of 1350 the community was reduced to a few members, but, according to Herrera, the place was not entirely deserted as some authors think.

Carvaxalis.

The monastery of Carvaxalis, dedicated to St. Engratia and situated about ten miles from Zamora, was founded in 1050. According to Marquez this monastery was in existence many years before this date. Some years later, on being called by the bishop of the diocese to give their services in the sacred ministry, the community removed from the ancient site and under the patronage of the Count de Alva erected a church and monastery within the city.

Aquaviva.

The monastery of St. James, Aquaviva, in the diocese of Pisa; was founded in 1101. Cariolanus in his chronicles¹ records that in the pontificate of Gregory VIII, 'It was granted to the Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine to hear confessions and to preach; and at the same time they were permitted to give sepulture in their cemetery and church to all that might desire it.' Henry de Urimarius says that 'in the time of Innocent III; when John de Cello was a member of the community, St. Francis dwelt with the brothers of the Order in this place called St. James de Aquaviva, in the neighbourhood of Pisa.'

Logrogno.

Antonio Ypez in his chronicles² speaks of the great monastery of Logrogno, in Spain. It was the domicile of a large community till the year 980, when the Moors raided the city. The monastery, being situated outside the walls, was sacked and destroyed, but was afterwards restored by Sancho, King of Navarre. In 1065 the Hermits moved into the city where they were given charge of a parochial church.

Amerinum.

The monastery of Amerinum, dedicated to SS. James and Philip, was in the province of Spoleto, and was founded about the year 1245. Cardinal Rainerius Capocius was a notable benefactor of this house. It was the monastery of Ugolinus de Amelia, Provincial of the Order and afterwards Bishop of the diocese. The relics of Blessed Lucia de Castello were venerated here. Pope Boniface IX³ gave sanction for public processions on the vigil of St. Augustine in which the secular and regular clergy could take part. He also gave special faculties to the Friars for hearing confessions in order that the people might have greater opportunities for benefiting by the indulgences.

¹ p. 9.² Tom. 5, A.D. 950.³ 14 Kal., Dec., 1397.

Lyons.

A monastery for Hermits of St. Augustine was founded at Lyons in the year 1100. Joseph Severtius, in his history of the Archbishops,¹ speaks of the ancient church dedicated to the Blessed Mother attached to the house of the Hermits, and constructed nearly 500 years before. It is said that this house was given over to the Tuscan congregation of Hermits, but it is found on the registers of the Order at the time of the Union.

London.

According to Pamphilus,² the Augustinian Hermits were established in the City of London in 1059, but Gabriel Pennotus and other authors place the foundation at a later date. The history of this important house will be given *in extenso* in another book.³

Benevento and Bulcinense.

These two houses were in the province of Naples. Benevento was founded in 1182, Bulcinense in 1222. The church of the later monastery was consecrated on May 3, 1376. Gregory, a noble German knight, presented the church with a wonderfully wrought crucifix in silver and gold which is referred to in pontifical letters and in the registers of the Order. This knight was buried in the church.

Bononiense.

This monastery, dedicated to SS. Philip and James, was founded at Bononiense in 1247. In the year 1264 the Hermits moved into the city and established themselves in the Via Bagnaroli, and with the consent of the Cardinal Archbishop, Octavianus, erected a monastery to which the parish of St. Caecilia was afterwards attached. The confraternity of Our Lady of Consolation was established here in 1303. Later the Hermits purchased a mansion for the education of youth. Letters of Alexander IV and of

¹ Pars I.² Chron. 37, 2.³ *Austin Friars in England.*

Urban IV relating to this house were preserved in its archives. Blessed John de Lana was a member of this community from which, at different periods, sprang many illustrious and learned men. Amongst these were James, Bishop of Pavia, Lambertum de Zambecharüs, Papal Legate, and Paraclitum de Malvetius, Bishop of Acernensem.

Cologne.

The Augustinian house of Cologne, which was founded in 1165, was reconstructed and enlarged through the concession of adjoining premises made by one Theodore Von Kirkmandebulam, in 1269. It became an important house of the German province and the residence of the Provincials. It enjoyed many privileges and was the school of several illustrious churchmen. Erhard Winhiem, in the *Secrario Agripinæ*,¹ speaks of the great antiquity of this house and refers to a reliquary of the Sacred Host transferred here in 1374 from Mildelburg. He speaks also of the establishment of a confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and of a celebrated statue of the Blessed Virgin which made the church the centre of great popular devotion. The monastery library contained a collection of most valuable books, and a number of Episcopal Letters dating back to 1264. Siffridus, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1280 granted the prior and community a mansion and oratory in the parish of St. Albani in Cologne, so that they might hear confessions. In 1317, Pope John XXII commended the Augustinian province of Cologne to the protection of the Archbishops of Cologne and Trevirensis, and the Bishop of Trajectensis.

Ferrara.

The Hermits of St. Augustine had a house at Ferrara which was of great antiquity. In the year 1197 the community moved from their position outside the walls to the church of St. Andrew within the city. Under the patronage of Hugocione, Bishop of Ferrara, and with the help of some generous and noble personages, they raised a magnificent church, which was consecrated by Pope Eugene IV.

¹ p. 167.

Florence.

From early times the Augustinians dwelt at the church of St. Mathew de Lepore in Casillinia. We then find them occupying the ruined church of Sta Maria outside the walls of Florence. About 1250 Father Peter Ildebrandini, the first Prior of St. Spirito, purchased the site where the present magnificent buildings stand. A monastery and church were raised at that time which were destroyed by fire in 1371. After this disaster the present noble temple and monastery were begun after designs by Brunelleschi, and were completed under the supervision of Laurence Ridolfi, Bartolomeo Corbinelli, and other celebrated architects. The church, which is considered to be one of the most beautiful in the world, is rich in artistic treasures, sculpture, and paintings by artists of various Italian schools; the greatest gems of the Florentine school of painting adorn the various chapels. Amongst the objects of veneration is a crucifix which was recovered uninjured from the fire in which the former church was destroyed, and a picture of the Madonna from which blood was seen to flow when mutilated by an enraged gambler. Amongst the celebrated alumni of this monastery were the historian Pamphilus, Bishop of Segni, William Bechio, General of the Order and afterwards Bishop of Fesulano, Bernard de Martellinus, Bishop of Cœsinas, Onuphrius Ostecutus, Bishop of Florence, and Onuphrius Villdominus, Bishop of Volterrano.

Viterbo.

The monastery of Viterbo was a very ancient foundation, yet there are no documents connected with its history previous to the Pontificate of Alexander IV. Hieronimus Romanus tells us of an inscription relating to the consecration of the church and altars, and dating to the year 1258. 'Alexander IV, Pontiff, on the 2nd day of June, in the year 1258, caused the church of the Most Holy Trinity of Viterbo to be consecrated by the illustrious Cardinal Odone, by the grace of God Bishop of Tuscolano; and on the following day, in the presence of several Cardinals and Bishops, the

Sovereign Pontiff consecrated the high altar of the said church to the glory of God, the Most Holy Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin Mary,' and at the same time granted numerous indulgences to the people attending the ceremony.

Viterbo became one of the principal houses of study for alumni of the Order, and the memory of some celebrated men is treasured there. Amongst these are Cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo, Bartholomæus, Archbishop of Naples, Angelus Scardeonius, Bishop of Tubertino, and James of Viterbo who died a centenarian. Here also lived Blessed Augustine Romanus, Blessed Jerome, and Blessed Sextus.

Verona.

The Verona monastery, one of the ancient houses of the Order in Italy, stood outside the city until the year 1262. In that year, owing to the complete destruction of all their buildings during a siege of the city, they obtained the consent of the bishop to occupy a church within the walls. They were given charge of the church of St. Euphemiæ and the parish attached. In the history of Verona, Jerome de Corte¹ records the transfer of the community and the circumstances under which they were forced to leave their ancient dwelling. Their house was a place of ruin through the wars; and the sad conditions of the times, as well as the dangers to which they would be continually exposed, drove them to the city. Their entry is registered on September 16, their Prior at the time being Fr. Fino de Buri. They laid the foundation stone of a new church in August, 1275. Jerome de Corte gives a very extensive account of the historical events of interest connected with this house. He says that the Hermits entered the city in procession after celebrating Mass of the Holy Ghost, and that the whole population received them with marks of devotion and respect.

This monastery is notable for the number of saintly and learned men who sojourned there, amongst whom were Blessed Fino de Buri, Blessed Albertinus, Evangelist, Peregrini, Blessed Theobald Scaliger, Bishop of Novariensis, and Humphry Pavinius, 'Father of Historians.'

¹ *Lib. IX*, p. 500.

Lisbon.

The Augustinian monastery of Lisbon, which became one of the largest institutions of the Order in the world, was founded in the year 1148. Marquez, speaking of the great antiquity of this monastery, says that it was erected for Canons of the Order of Premonstratensians but was occupied by Hermits. At that period there were Hermits of St. Augustine at San Genasi, a place some distance from the city, and according to some documents examined by Marquez a lady named Susanna constructed a chapel close to the hermitage which was dedicated to God and the Saints of the Augustinian Order. These documents were of the greatest historical interest as they contained the names of the Prior, Fr. John Lombardo, the Provincial, Fr. Laurence, and the General, Fr. Paschasius de Darata.

About 1271 the Hermits moved into the city, where with the aid of the citizens they raised a monastery and church in a quarter named Almafala. Boniface IX confirmed the establishment of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Grace here and enriched it with various indulgences.¹ In the course of years it became the chief monastery of the Order in Portugal. The community gave thirteen bishops and archbishops to the Church, royal preachers, and professors of theology. Blessed Thaddeus de Canaria and the venerable Louis de Montoja were members of this community. In 1630 there were twenty-one houses of Augustinian Hermits in Portugal.

Other Augustinian Houses founded before the 'Union.'

The monastery of Cignana, near Castignani, was an ancient foundation. In its historical records is preserved a letter of Mathew, Bishop of Esculanensis, dated 'II Kal., Sept., 1238,' in which some indulgences granted to benefactors are mentioned.

A monastery founded at Catania dates from 1239. Colla was founded in 1251.

¹ Marquez, C. XV, 4.

Esimo, dedicated to St. Luke, in the province of the Marshes, was founded about the year 1100. In its records it is stated that Michael of Oesimo of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine received the Church of St. Luke for the community, with certain portions of land for their support.

Eborensis, a monastery dedicated to Our Lady of Grace, founded in the year 1206, belonged to the province of Lusitania.

De Fianis, in the diocese of Braga, was founded in 887.

The monastery of Mount Filiani was founded in 1150.

In the province of Ancona a noble man named Walter Caviello built the monastery of Fabriani, called Sta Maria de Nova, in 1216, for the Hermits of St. Augustine. Caviello died in 1258 and was buried in the church. The church was consecrated by Brother Antony de Columbello, Hermit of St. Augustine and Bishop of Senogallia.

The monastery of Fidense was founded in 1230 through the labours of Stephen, Prior of Catasta. Fr. Andrew, who received the habit from him, was the first prior. In a document in the archives of Siena the names of the whole community are given.

The monastery of Freiburg, in Germany, was founded in 1245.

The monastery of Foggia in the province of Apulia was founded in 1245. It became an important house of the Order and several chapters were held here.

The Augustinian monastery of Gallecia, near Samos, was founded in 759. Gotha, in the province of Saxony, was founded in 1246. The church was given a sacred relic of the Precious Blood brought from the Holy Land by Prince Langravius. The famous preacher of the times, Fr. John Palatz, referred to it in one of his sermons. 'According to wishes of the donor,' he said, 'and in order that God might be glorified in His miracles, the Sacred Relic was borne from the camp by clerics in solemn and devout procession

and in the presence of a great concourse of people, and deposited in the monastery of the Hermits of St. Augustine.'

The monastery of Hispalensis was founded under the patronage of the Duke of Arles during the reign of Ferdinand of Castile, 1248. Later the Hermits transferred to a new building, leaving the ancient monastery to the Nuns of the Holy Spirit. This house gave bishops to the Spanish Church, amongst whom were John de Laguna, Bishop of Ugentinas, Martin de Leon, and Didaco de Gutzman, Cardinal Archbishop of Hispalensis.

The monastery of St. James de Cella, near Lucca, was founded in 1226. Laurimbani was founded by St. Anciradus in 852.

The monastery of Milan was founded in 1040 by a community coming from the Augustinian house of Vola known as Sta Maria del Buscho. We find several references to this house in documents of great antiquity. In 1254 the foundation stone of their new church was laid. In 1258 the Apostolic protection was granted to them owing to the troubled times. It was here the Sodality of the 'Crucified' was first established, the object of which was to procure dowries for poor girls about to marry.

The monastery of Mechlin, in the province of Cologne, was founded in 1246.

Naldensis, in Navarre, was founded in 1064 by Sancho, King of Navarre.

The monastery of St. Peter in Narbonne, Burgundia, was founded in 1220.

Nari, in the province of Sicily, was founded in 1230.

Piscaria was founded in 1153 by Hermits from Penna Firma.

The Augustinian monastery of Padua, dedicated to SS. Philip and James, was founded about 1237. In 1264 Maria, wife of Zacharias del Arena, who was a great benefactress of the Order, enabled the Hermits to erect a new

house and to replace their church with a noble temple. 'In the year of Our Lord 1435, on the feast of the Blessed Trinity, the church and cloisters were solemnly consecrated by John de Santa Anna, in the presence of Cardinal Angelo Corario and several bishops.' The church is described as having several beautiful chapels which were rich in paintings and marbles, and which were constructed under the supervision of eminent architects of the times. Padua was a house of studies, and men famous for science and literature flourished there. Blessed Bonaventura Badduarius de Paraga, Cardinal of the Church, was a member of the Padua community about 1380. John de Grandis, Bishop of Emonensis,¹ Solomen Patavinus, Bishop of Forosemproviensis,² John Patavinus, Bishop of Davalensis,³ Paul Zabarella, Bishop of Argolicensis, and afterwards Archbishop of Pariensis,⁴ and Hieronimus de Sanctis, Bishop of Argolicensis,⁵ were all members of the Padua community. The names of other celebrated men are also given on the registers of this house.

The monastery of Rodense, in Belgium, was founded in 1043.

'In the year 1171 Conrad Heros, Bavarian, founded a magnificent house for Hermits of St. Augustine at Rebdosense.'

At Ratisbon, in Bavaria, a monastery was founded in 1255.

The monastery of SS. Saviour and Claudius, founded about 700 and destroyed in 782, was afterwards restored.

Suriano, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the diocese of Ortano, was founded by Guidone, an Augustinian Hermit, about the year 1159. It was in a desolate place in the barren mountains and was approached 'over difficult and perilous ways.' The Hermits were granted great privileges by Pope Innocent IV and Pope Julius II.

The monastery of Travistino, in the province of the

¹ 1363.

² 1385.

³ 1441.

⁴ 1525.

⁵ 1533.

Marshes, was founded in 1233 by Fr. Gerard de Camino, a member of a noble family. In 1265 the Hermits changed to a position within the town.

The monastery of Tolentino was founded about 1250. According to Sansofino the principal patrons and benefactors of the Hermits were the Mauritia and Mellina families. The church and the basilica of St. Nicholas is one of the most magnificent buildings in Italy. The chapel of St. Nicholas, erected by the Mellina family, is of superb design. The church was consecrated in 1465 by Andrew, Bishop of Camerina. Blessed John of Tolentino belonged to this community.

Tubertino of the Roman province was established in 1241. This house was considered by chroniclers as more ancient than the date given. It stood outside the walls of the town. In 1560 Bishop Aquilino gave the Hermits charge of the parochial church of St. Paul within the town and their old monastery was bestowed upon the nuns of St. Laurence.

Urbevitanum, in the Roman province, was founded in the year 1156. Pope Innocent III, when visiting the city, gave orders for the erection of five new churches, one of which was for the Hermits of St. Augustine. According to Pamphilus, Pope Urban IV built their monastery. Blessed Francis Urbeveranus, and Blessed Clement of Auximo, who was buried there, were members of the Urbevitanum community. Ugolinus, Bishop and Patriarch of Constantinople,¹ was also an inmate of this house.

Pavia.

The Hermits of St. Augustine settled at Pavia in 1310, and built their first abode close to the Church of St. Peter, in Ciel d'Oro. At this time the Canons Regular had the custody of the Body of St. Augustine. The church, which had been in the hands of the Benedictines from the year 710, was

¹ 1290.

transferred to them in 1220 by Pope Honorius III. In 1327, on the petition of the general, William of Cremona, the Hermits were granted the privilege of celebrating, in common with the Canons, the Divine Offices in the church, and six years later they got complete possession. Henry de Urimarius records that in 1331 when Pope John XXII transferred the whole guardianship of the church and relics to the Hermits, he said, in the presence of the Cardinals, that 'the custody of the sacred body of St. Augustine was by every right the privilege of the Hermits who were truly his children.' In 1338 a new Office and Mass were permitted for the 'Reunion of the body of St. Augustine.'

About sixty years after the death of St. Augustine, his exiled children returned to Africa and rescued from the ruins of Hippo the body of their Father and founder. They bore it to Cagliari in Sardinia and enshrined it in the Church of Saturninus, where they were its custodians for nearly three hundred years. Sardinia was overrun by the Saracens in the eighth century and the Hermits were driven again into exile, their monasteries and churches being plundered and destroyed. Seeing that the crescent was firmly established there, and that there was no hope of reconquest, the pious King of the Lombards, Luitprand, paid the enormous sum of 60,000 golden crowns for permission to remove the body of the Saint to Italy. In the year 710, amidst scenes of the greatest devotion and solemnity, the casket containing the body was borne to Pavia and laid in a marble vault in the sacristy of the Church of St. Peter in Ciel d'Oro. It was probably out of consideration for security that a church within the walls was selected as a shrine for the relics, and as the Benedictines were in charge of the church the relics were left in their custody. It is probable that some Hermits accompanied the body of their patron from Sardinia. Crusenius thinks that Luitprand erected a monastery for them at Pavia which was afterwards destroyed in the wars.

In 1331, when once again they became the custodians of the body of the Saint, the Hermits set about the erection of the wonderful tomb, 'the Arca,' which enshrines it to-day.

The work was begun in 1350 on a scale that would entail the most lavish expenditure, but the desire was to give to the Saint a resting-place that would be unsurpassed in magnificence. The Bishop of Pavia censured them for the extravagance with which they were spending their resources, but nothing could deter them in their labour of love. They selected the most precious marbles and employed the most skilful artists of the day with the result that the Arca of St. Augustine is one of the most superb examples of monumental sculpture in the world. Owing to the want of sufficient funds to carry out the work, there were delays which prolonged the completion of the tomb for a considerable time. In 1397, when they had already expended 4000 gold crowns on the work, they had to appeal to benefactors and certain sums were bequeathed them. One benefactor, Gian Galeazzo Visconte, directed his heirs to complete the Arca after his death, but when he died in 1402 it was already finished.

The Arca was originally erected in the sacristy as it was decided not to disturb the vault in which the pious Luitprand had deposited the relics. Three hundred years passed and then in 1695 a Papal commission was appointed to examine the vault and relics. The marble slabs, each of which was inscribed with the name of Augustine, were removed and the silver and leaden casket opened. Later, Pope Benedict XIII, being satisfied that the casket contained the bones and ashes of the Saint, issued a Bull of authentication and the casket was placed in the Arca.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century Pavia became involved in the prolonged and desolating wars that afflicted Italy. The city suffered from successive sieges by the Austrians and French, and its churches and religious institutions became hospitals for the plague-stricken and wounded and garrisons for soldiers. The Hermits were compelled to vacate the monastery, and as the church was taken over by military authorities, the casket containing the relics was taken to the cathedral for safety. After peace had been restored, as the Church of St. Peter was in a ruinous condition, the Bishop appealed to Rome for permission to remove the Arca to the cathedral, but this was

refused. The Hermits had returned and were engaged in the reconstruction of their monastery. They claimed their right to the custody of the relics and the casket was replaced in the Arca in the church.

After the Napoleonic wars and the establishment of communistic rule in Italy, the Order was politically suppressed, and the church and monastery with all the property possessed by the Hermits were confiscated. The monastery was sold and the church demolished with the exception of the west front and tower, and the wonderful Arca and the marbles of the altars offered for sale, but such was the outcry of the people at this work of desecration that no one dared to purchase or remove the Arca or the altars. The Arca was then taken to pieces and carted to a shed near the cathedral, where it lay for nearly thirty years. Before leaving their monastery, the Hermits had taken care to remove the relics to the cathedral. In 1828, the Arca was taken from the shed and under the direction of the eminent architect Testigali it was erected in the cathedral and the relics were placed in it.

Time passed and once again the Hermits returned, repurchased their property, and with patient industry and perseverance rebuilt their monastery and ruined church. In Rome they put forward their claim both to the Arca and the guardianship of the relics of their holy founder, with the result that in 1902 the Arca and casket were restored to them. The Arca was re-erected in the Church of St. Peter behind the high altar, where, it is hoped, it will enshrine undisturbed the relics of the Saint through all the years to come.

The Arca, which is a work of surpassing beauty, has been preserved in an extraordinary manner. Notwithstanding the fact that it was carelessly handled, carted from place to place, and exposed in an open shed for nearly half a century, it suffered no serious injury in any delicate detail of sculptured statuette. The design of the Arca is unique. In proportion and symmetry it is superb. In the composition and detail of the bas-reliefs and statues we have all the refinements of the sculptor's art.

The Arca is oblong in form and is constructed in three

tiers. Around the lower tier is a series of cusped arches within which are grouped statues of the twelve Apostles. These compartments are relieved by columns against which stand figures of the Prophets, Virtues, and popular saints and martyrs. The centre, or second, tier, is an open arcade within which a figure of the Saint is seen beneath a pall, the ends of which are held by angels. At the head of the Saint is a group of statues representing St. Monica, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory. The upper tier is supported upon eight columns against which stand the figures of twenty-four saints. This tier is ornamented with bas-reliefs representing events in the life of Augustine, whilst the whole structure is crowned with beautiful sculptured gables and decorated with floral crockets and finials.

CHAPTER VII

AUGUSTINIAN SAINTS AND BEATI BEFORE THE 'UNION'

IN addition to those saints already mentioned in these pages, we have records of a great number of holy men who lived through the centuries preceding the general 'union,' and who are honoured still in various countries of Europe. The impression made by their sanctity and miracles has survived the passing of the years. Here and there from the gardens of the hermitages their memories have been gathered as precious flowers for the altars of God, where they bear evidence of the spiritual vitality of the holy institute founded by the great doctor of the Church.

St. Antony, martyr, the son of Fredelasie, King of Pamia, was for eighteen years a Hermit of Salernum in Italy. He was martyred on the 4th non. of September, 456.

St. Agnellus, Abbot of the monastery of Naples; died December 14, 596.

St. Agriculus of Lérins, Bishop of Avignon; died September 2, 700.

St. Aigulphus, Abbot of Lérins, was martyred with his whole community by the Saracens, September 5, 660. They suffered terrible torture at the hands of the infidels. Their eyes were dug out, and their tongues were torn from their mouths, and, whilst still alive, they were slowly cut to pieces. It is said that Aigulphus introduced the Benedictine rule into Lérins, but Chroniclers of the Order maintain that the community returned to the rule of St. Augustine before the tragedy of their martyrdom.

St. Adrianus, a native of Africa who migrated to England after the second exile of the Hermits, died on January 9, 690.

St. Artongata, daughter of the royal house of England, entered a convent of the Order in Portugal. The date of her death is not known.

Blessed Alvares and Andreas were Hermits of the monastery of St. Christopher della Foes, Portugal. They died about 1123.

St. Salvador, who founded the monastery of Mutelensis ; died in 630.

St. Severus, an associate of St. Licinianus, Bishop of Carthagina, was one of the companions of St. Donatus. He died in 585.

St. Theodore was superior of one of the restored monasteries in Africa. He was engaged in a mission to Pope Martin. He died in 650.

St. Trucarius ; martyred at Lérins in 660.

St. Cæsarius, Archbishop of Arles ; died in 554.

Blessed Rosendus, a Hermit of the monastery of St. Christopher della Foes ; died in 1123.

St. Veranus, a very holy Hermit who is said to have had the gift of prophecy, foretold the Christian victories over the Moors. He died in 1239.

St. Severus, Superior of the monastery of St. Julianus of Piscaria, in Portugal. He and all of his community died of the pest that swept the country in 1193.

St. Dominic, founder of the monastery of Cambas ; died in 630.

Blessed Jodicus, an English Hermit, is claimed by historians as one of the members of the Order. His feast is given by them as occurring on December 13. He died in the year 653.

Blessed Lubia, a Hermit of the monastery of St. Christopher della Foes, Portugal. He died in the year 1124.

St. Ghesius of Lucca, Italy. He died in that town in 1250, and it is said that for a long time his relics exhaled a precious odour.

St. Galganus, born in Siena of noble parentage, died in 1181. Incidents in his life are blended with legend. After many wanderings he spent the last years of his life with the Hermits.

Blessed Othmarus who, according to Louis de Angelis, lived through the worst years of the Moorish persecutions in Spain. He died in 758.

Blessed Helias, who suffered martyrdom at Cordova in 856.

Venerable Laurence, Loderigus, and Lupus, who died during the plague in Portugal in 1193.

Blessed Cœlius of the province of Lusitania, who died in 660.

Blessed Columba, Abbess of a convent in Portugal, who is mentioned in the *Theatro Triumphalis* of Antony of the Purification. She was martyred about the year 990.

St. Hirena, virgin and martyr of Portugal ; died 650.

Ven. Lucentius, Bishop of Coimbra ; died 620.

Blessed Matrona, Abbess of Capua ; died 560.

St. Radegunda, Abbess of the convent of Poitiers in France ; died 590.

St. Romanus of Cauliniano ; died 714.

Blessed Peter and Pelagius of the monastery of Blessed John of Cireta ; died 1133.

St. Julianus of the monastery of Piscaria in Portugal ; died 1193.

Blessed Nicholas of Siena, of the noble family of Bandinello, who became a hermit at Ilicetana ; died 1228.

Blessed Florentius of Pisa, who was Prior of the monastery of Verona, and died 1256.

Blessed Angelus a Burgo, an associate of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, was a member of the community of Peruvia. He died in 1249.

Blessed Albert of Verona, one of the delegates appointed at the general chapter to visit England in the interests of the Order ; died 1256.

Blessed Angelo of Foligno, who built the great monastery of his native city as well as the monastery attached to the Church of St. John at Montefalco. He belonged to the congregation of John Buon before the General Chapter, and died in 1286.

Blessed Gosendus, of the monastery of St. Julianus of Piscaria in Portugal ; died 1193.

Blessed Gabatinus, a Portuguese, who died in 1226.

Blessed Guido Antonianus of Siena, Ilicetana.

Blessed John de Spelunca ; died 1163.

St. Germanus and Blessed Friolanus, of the monastery of St. Christopher della Foes, Portugal ; died about the year 1120.

Blessed Francis of Lucca, Hungary, and Blessed Felix of Lucca. No date is given.

Blessed Latinus, of Ilicetana ; died 1191.

Blessed Chulmanus, a Hermit of the monastery of Pivoniense in Bohemia, where he was held in the greatest veneration by the people. He died in 1266.

Blessed Clemens of Auximo who, according to Blessed Jordan de Sax, was the confessor of Pope Boniface VIII, who held him in high esteem. ' Beloved of God and man in life, in death he became renowned by miracles.'

Blessed Evangelist of Verona, who abandoned a life of pleasure and a high social position to become a humble Hermit in the monastery of Verona, where he practised the most austere penance. ' His relics are venerated in the chapel of Our Blessed Lady in the Church of St. Euphemia.' He died in 1256.

Blessed Peregrinus of Verona was a contemporary of Blessed Evangelist, and his remains are buried in the same chapel. He died in 1270.

Blessed Peter Eugubinus, who, according to Pamphilus, died in 1256. Some authors place him amongst the contemporaries of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, and say that he died at a later date.

Venerable Peregrinus of Auximo, of the monastery of Vallis Manentis, who, it is said, appeared to St. Nicholas to obtain his prayers for the suffering souls in purgatory. He died in 1275.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HABIT AND RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE

It is probable that Augustine and his associates in the first hermitage retained their Patrician dress during their daily occupations, and that they assumed the distinctive black robe and cincture for solemn functions and spiritual exercises. This may account for the white and black habits in common use amongst the Hermits in past ages. It is a venerable tradition that at the suggestion of his mother Augustine took a black habit at his baptism, which he wore, girt with a leathern cincture, in honour of Our Lady of Consolation. He was vested in these after he had received the sacrament of regeneration from the hands of St. Ambrose. 'We clothed the new Christian in new garments, even with a black cowl, and we ourselves did gird him with a leathern cincture, which Simplicianus gave us with exceeding joy.'¹ Black has been always the distinctive colour of the Augustinian habit, and the leather cincture which Augustinians wear is the sacred badge to which are attached the rich indulgences that have been granted to them by the Church.

Possidius says that the attire adopted by Augustine 'was not costly neither was it mean.' It is held by many writers that the Saint wore his hermit habit all through his life. 'I have brought nothing to this city,' he says, 'I have come vested in that garb in which I was clothed then.' In his work, *Ad Fratres in Eremito*, he says: 'We appear, bearing in our bodies beneath our habits the figure of the cross: we have the name of religious. We carry the black habit of humility; we appear girt with a cincture of leather; let us take care lest we should be as the whited sepulchre.' In ancient MSS. at the Vatican there are several illustrations

¹ *Discourse of St. Ambrose*, 92, Paris edit., 1549.

showing Augustine robed in the black habit. In an ancient Arabic document preserved in the Escorial, the Saint is depicted in a black habit with a cowl and cincture.

At the Chapter of 1256, when the various congregations were united to the Order, 'the black habit, with cowl, flowing sleeves, and girt with a leathern cincture, was adopted by all.'

There are many historical proofs that the white habit was also worn in the monasteries of the Order. In the Giottesque frescoes at Tolentino we see St. Nicholas and his brother novices robed in white. In pre-Reformation days in England, Somner tells us, the Austin Friars were known in many places as 'White Friars' because they wore a long white habit when living within the enclosure of their monasteries, over which they put on a long black habit when preaching or going abroad.¹ At the present time the white habit is worn in the novitiates; the black being worn in the churches by all priests engaged in the sacred ministry.

The Rule of St. Augustine.

In the hermit community at Tagasta, Augustine was recognised as superior. His heart burned with a holy zeal, and in his new-found ardour he sought to make his companions partakers of his own happiness, as well as to guide them in the ways of grace. At the beginning of their monastic life it is probable that there was mutual agreement regarding the order of study, work, and prayer, leaving each one freedom to find other ways of sanctification when at liberty. But as new aspirants began to seek 'that solitude apart from the world,' and their household increased in numbers, some formula determining common observance became necessary, and it is obvious that Augustine must have given thought to some definite plan of organisation for spiritual exercises, and for the domestic government of his growing institute. If his 'Rule of life' was not written at Tagasta, it must have had its inception in the experiences which he gathered there.

The Cenobite communities which Augustine visited in

¹ App. XIV, L.

Rome, and which gave him his inspiration for his African hermitages, lived under a Rule. In his work, *De more Ecclesie*, which was written at Tagasta, he speaks with admiration of the ordered life of these holy men. 'Who,' he says, 'would not regard with respect and admiration those men who forsake the world to live in pious community a life of chastity and self-sacrifice? They occupy themselves in prayer, spiritual reading, and religious discourses. They are not puffed up with pride; no quarrels disturb their serenity; they envy no man; none of them possesses anything, and yet none of them becomes a burden to others. They make with their own hands those things necessary to the well-being of their bodies, and this without diverting their devotion from God. A discreet and capable superintendent keeps them supplied with such food and clothing as their earthly life requires. In this matter he is responsible to one whom they call "Father." The Father is distinguished from others not only by his piety and conduct, but also by his knowledge of Divinity. Thorough in all things, and without pride, he governs his sons with due authority, and receives from them the most loyal obedience. In the evenings he assembles them before him that they may hear him lecture. They listen with extraordinary interest. When there is anything left superfluous to their needs, whether it is clothing or food from the table, it is carefully distributed to the poor.'¹

The Cenobites gave Augustine his idea for the Hermit life which he founded in Africa. Did the ordered life of observance which he saw amongst them also give him his idea of a rule? Common possessorship of goods as a condition of reception into the hermitages was certainly prescribed; and there is little doubt that there were certain prescribed rules for the order of prayer, penitential work, study, labour, and obedience to the appointed superior; otherwise there would have been chaotic confusion when their numbers increased. Without a rule Augustine's Hermits could never have maintained their uniformity of organisation or even their identity, especially when they spread to other cities, and were no longer under his personal

¹ Serm. 67.

supervision. The statement made by Possidius that Augustine introduced his 'Regula' or 'Rule' at the new monastery founded at Hippo, and the remark that the Saint had been living according to that rule, make it very definite that there was already in existence an accepted formula of observance; hence the prevailing opinion amongst some writers of our day, that of all the religious founders of Christendom, Augustine was the only one to establish an order without a rule, is one of the most mysterious deductions of modern speculative criticism.

The opinion that the Augustinian Rule was copied from a code written for nuns originated with Erasmus. This cynic made use of Augustine's letter¹ for derisive comment on the monks of his day, but his opinion was repudiated as untenable by the Doctors of Paris and Louvain, and was condemned by the Holy Office as 'a figment, dangerous and suspect.'² Amongst the ecclesiastical writers of the period who maintained that Augustine wrote his rule for Hermits were Trussilius,³ Illescas,⁴ Alvarez Pelagius,⁵ Choppinus,⁶ and Albertus Pighius.⁷ Jordan de Sax says that 'Augustine gave his hermits their rule, their habit, and their name.' Francis Pediglia in his ecclesiastical history says: 'Augustine gave his hermits the rule which was confirmed and approved by Innocent II in Council.' 'In the time of Aurelius Augustine,' says Navarus, 'there were hermits of St. Augustine who ordered their life according to the rule of their founder.'

The letter⁸ upon which Erasmus based his assertion was not written till the year 423. It is scarcely possible that Augustine left his institute without a rule for thirty-five years. The letter was written after the death of his sister, who had been for many years superior of the convent of Hippo, and it was written obviously with the sole purpose of conveying a reproof to the nuns for their rebellious behaviour towards her newly elected successor. The letter ends with an exhortation to observe their good vows, to show religious obedience, and to add tears to their repentance

¹ 211.² Crusenius, XIX, 50.³ Tom. 2.⁴ Tom. 5.⁵ Lib. II.⁶ Lib. I.⁷ Controv., C. 14.⁸ 211.

for their guilty attitude towards one duly elected to preside over them.

Many of our modern critics are disposed to admit that Augustine's letter ended with the exhortation, and, in order to give it additional force, the code of rules appended were copied by some other person, presumably the chaplain or the superioress herself. Literary criticism would show that the code must have been copied from a rule written for men. There is no real logical connection between the letter and the code of rules, and there is no proof whatever that the code formed a part of the original document. The assumption that the document is of earlier date than the rule does not carry critical opinion beyond mere speculation.

In Augustine's work, *De opere Monachorum*, written many years before the letter to the nuns, we find passages identical with those in the rule emphasising complete detachment from the things and concerns of the world, and complete sacrifice of self to a mode of life tending to sanctification. The work is a defence of his institute against blame and abuse, and particularly against the invasion of fanatics who were roaming the country at the time under the assumed name of hermits, and whose practices were a scandal to the faithful. At the same time he draws attention to reported laxity of observance of certain 'statutes,' especially where plebeian members of certain communities refused to work, whilst senators and others who had left high positions in the world 'watered the monastery gardens with their sweat.' The work conveys the impression that Augustine is speaking to all the communities of Hermits as their legislator.

The Augustinian rule was widely circulated in the fifth and sixth centuries in Europe. It was due not only to the coming of the exiled Hermits, but also to the devotion of saints like Hilary of Arles, Pope St. Gelasius, St. Cæsarius, and others. According to chroniclers, St Hilary introduced it to the monks at Lérins, where it was observed till the time of the martyrdom of St. Aigulphus and his community by Saracens in 660. St. Gelasius introduced it to the clergy of the Lateran. St. Cæsarius, after he had become Archbishop of Arles, adapted the rule for the sisterhood of St. John's, copying almost word for word from the rule of

St. Augustine. Herrera says that this Saint 'gave a rule to the nuns of St. Radegunda where his sister Cæsaria dwelt.'¹ Critics do not question the antiquity of the rule. Codices of it are found amongst the most ancient documents in Christendom. The 'Landau' and 'Ashbourne' manuscripts belong to the ninth century, whilst the 'Corbie' manuscript belongs to the fifth or sixth century. The most important of these is the 'Corbie' manuscript found in the Benedictine monastery of Corbie, Picardy. Fr. Cassamassa, O.S.A., lecturing before the Roman Academy of Archæology, said that the Codex of Corbie was transferred with the whole library to S. Germain des Prés, in 1638. S. Germain's was suppressed in 1790, when the 'Codex was placed in the National Library, where it is now preserved.'² Critics tell us that the 'Corbie' manuscript was copied from a still more ancient codex which came from the library of Vivarium, a monastery founded by Cassiodorus early in the fifth century.

The preservation of the rule of St. Augustine and its introduction into Europe is due entirely to the devotion of his Hermits. In their new-found homes in Spain, Italy, and the Islands of the Mediterranean, there can be little doubt that each community had its copy. It must have been amongst the most treasured possessions of these holy exiles, as well as of the religious who succeeded them down through the centuries. At the Lateran Council in 1139 the rules of St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Benedict received the Apostolic sanction as codes of law governing Religious bodies; and at the Council held in 1215 it was decreed that all Religious Orders throughout the Church should adopt one or other of these rules.

Amongst the Orders following the Rule of St. Augustine are :

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---------|------|
| The Canons Regular | . | . | . | founded | 1062 |
| The Grandemontensians | . | . | . | " | 1076 |
| The Canons of St. Victor | . | . | . | " | 1076 |
| The Order of the Cross | . | . | . | " | 1117 |
| The Gilbertines | . | . | . | " | 1148 |
| The Cruciferi | . | . | . | " | 1175 |
| The Humiliati | . | . | . | " | 1196 |

¹ C. 131.² No. 1, 2634.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|------|
| The Order of Trinity . . . | founded | 1198 |
| The Agonizantes | | |
| The Order of St. Demetrius . . . | „ | 1200 |
| The Order of Preachers . . . | „ | 1205 |
| The Order of St. Paul . . . | „ | 1215 |
| The Valiscolari . . . | „ | 1218 |
| The Order of Penance | | |
| The Order of Redemption of Captives | „ | 1230 |
| The Order of St. Ambrose . . . | „ | 1295 |
| The Escala of Sena . . . | „ | 1298 |
| The Armenians . . . | „ | 1303 |
| The Hermits of St. Jerome . . . | „ | 1308 |
| The Order of St. Alazio . . . | „ | 1309 |
| The Order of Giesvati . . . | „ | 1367 |
| The Order of St. Bridget . . . | „ | 1373 |
| The Cruciferi of Germany . . . | „ | 1393 |
| The Jermite . . . | „ | 1428 |
| The Apostolini . . . | „ | 1484 |
| The Order of St. John of God . . . | „ | 1572 |
| The Discalced Augustinians . . . | „ | 1589 |
| The Order of St. Antony . . . | „ | 1615 |
| The Order of Visitation . . . | „ | 1680 |
| The Order of Nazareth . . . | „ | 1680 |
| The Order of Bethlehem . . . | „ | 1687 |

The Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Knights Templars, and other military Orders followed the rule.

There is a list of seventy Orders that adopted it.

INDEX

A

Adelard, St., 148
 Adeodonatus, 49
 Adovaker, 104
 Adrument, 39
 Aegidius Colonna, 146
 Aegidius of Viterbo, Cardinal, 155
 Agila, 126
 Agnellus, St., 103, 165
 Agricola, St., 165
 Aigulphus, St., 165
 Alexander IV, Pope, 132, 133, 137, 138
 Alipius, St., 49, 52, 64-69, 78
 Ambrose, St., 1, 2, 46, 47, 50, 51
 Amerinum, 151
 Anastasius, St., 122
 Anciradus, St., 146, 158
 Andreas, 98
 Antonius, Bishop, 64
 Antony, St., 165
 Aquaviva, 151
 'Arca' of St. Augustine, 161-164
 Arians, 18, 87, 91, 93, 126
 Arthuagus, 110, 111, 127
 Athanagild, 112, 126
 Augustine of Hippo, St., 43 ff., 119, 161; Life by St. Possidius, xi-36
 Augustine of Terano, 144
 Aurelius, 59
 Austro-Germanic missionary work, 104
 Avitus de Grazano, 131

B

Babel-el-Annaba, 41
 Ballée, M., 40
 Barcelona, 108
 Baronius, Cardinal, 50, 72

Benevento, 152
 Bernard, Bp. of Spalata, 51
 Bertrand, Louis, 42
 Bigue, 92
 Bone, 42
 Boniface, Bp. of Tarragona, 107
 Boniface, Count, 32, 87
 Boniface, martyr, 92
 Bononiense, 152
 Braza, 74, 75
 Brittinians, 136
 Brunelleschi, 154
 Bulcinense, 152
 Buonites, 133, 137-139

C

Cagliari, 117, 119, 161
 Calama, 11, 12, 84-88
 Capsa, 90-93
 Capua, 96
 Carthage, 13, 15, 32, 39; Alipius at, 64, 65; Augustine at, 45; Martyred Sisters of, 93-97
 Carthagina, 77, 108
 Carvaxalis, 150
 Catania, 156
 Cauliniano, 113
 'Causa finita est,' 62
 Celestine, St., 62
 Chilimi, 39
 Christopher della Foes, St., 147
 Cignana, 156
 Cintra, 150
 Circene, 116, 118
 Circumcellions, 9, 11
 Cirita, John, 147
 Cirtense, 32
 City of God, 63, 77
 Coelian, Bishop, 60
 Colla, 156
 'Collatio' of the year 411, 85
 Cologne, 153

Columba, Blessed, 96
 Cordova, 150
 Crisopolas, 122
 Crispinus, Donatist bishop, 12, 86
 Crusenius, 50, 79, 81, 104, etc.
 Cyril, Arian bishop, 93

D

Dacius, Chronicle of, 51
 Delphinus, Bp. of Bordeaux, 78
De Magistro, 53
De Musica, 53
 De Saras, 114
De Vera Religione, 53
 Donatists, 6, 8-11, 13, 19, 57-59, 67, 71, 85

E

Eborensis, 157
 Egippus, 105, 106
 Egypt, hermits in, 103, 104
 Emeritus, the Donatist, 14, 86
 Erthinodus, 110, 111
 Esimo, 157
 Eucherius, Bp. of Lyons, 124
 Eugenius, Bishop, 93
 Euthimius, 98
 Eutropius, Bishop, 75, 109
 Evodius, 52, 64, 69-71

F

Fabriani, 157
 Faustus, Bishop, 99
 Felix, Abbot, 99, 100
 Felix, a Manichæan, 16
 Ferrara, 153
 Fianis, De, 157
 Fidense, 157
 Filiani, 157
 Firmus, a merchant, 15
 Flavius, 72
 Flette, William, 143
 Florence, 154
 Florentius, 115
 Foggia, 157
 Fortunatus, 5
 Francis of Assisi, St., 142

Freiburg, 157
 Fulgentius, St., 99, 100, 107, 110, 115-119

G

Gallecia, 157
 Gaudiosus, St., 102, 103, 120
 Gaudiosus of Turiasone, St., 114
 Gelasius, Pope St., 96, 120, 121
 Genasius, St., 148
 Genserich, 87, 90, 98
 Gotha, 157
 Goths, 31
 Gramage, 43

H

Habit and Rule of the Order, 139, 169
 Hadrumenta, 123
 Hector, Bp. of Carthagina, 107, 110
 Hermits of St. Augustine, 39-41, 55, 56, 64, 66, 76, 84, 90, 101 ff., 141
 Hermit Sisters, 67
 Hilary of Arles, 64, 80-82
 Hilary, a hermit, 129
 Hippo, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 18, 19, 25, 32, 39, 41, 42, 53-57, 72, 84, 87, 95
 Hippo-Regis, 3
 Hispalensis, 158
Historiarum contra Paganos, 77
 Honoratus, Bishop, 33, 80, 81
 Honorius, Emperor, 19
 Huneric, 91, 93, 94

I

Idedense, 39, 90, 117
 Illicitana, 129, 141-143
 Innocent, Pope, 19, 61, 136

J

James de Cella, St., 158
 Jerome, St., 73, 76

John de Spelunca, 131
 Julian of Toledo, 51
 Junta, 39

L

Lanfranc of Milan, 138
 Laurimbani, 158
 Lavigerie, Cardinal, 41
 Leo, Pope, 82
 Leovigild, King of the Goths,
 108, 109, 127
 Leporius, Bp. of Carthage, 71, 72
 Leporius, Bp. of Vita, 71-73
 Leporius, a writer, 64
 Lérins, 106, 122-124, 165, 173
 Liberatus and companions, 91
 Licinianus, Bp. of Carthagina, 109
 Lisbon, 156
 Livallia, 134, 135, 143
 Logrogno, 151
 London, 152
 Lucano, 105, 106
 Lucian, 76
 Lucilus, 105
 Lyons, 152

M

Macedonius, a governor, 22
 Mandrakon, 39
 Manichæans, 1, 5, 6, 15, 16, 19,
 46, 57-59
 Marcellinus, 13, 59
 Maria del Popolo, Santa, 145
 Martinianus, 97
 Matrona, St., 96
 Maudaura, 44
 Mauritania of Cæsarea, 14
 Maxima, 97
 Maximus, Arian bishop, 18
 Maximus, hermit, 92
 Maximus, St., 122
 Mechlin, 158
 Megalius, Bishop, 7
 Megatius, Primate of Numedia,
 74
 Melania, St., 67-69, 95
 Milan, Alipius at, 65; Augustine
 at, 46, 65; Evodius at, 70;
 monastery, 158; Nebredius
 at, 83
 Milevis, Council of, 61, 85
 Milidi, 39

Monica, St., 43, 44, 47, 70
 Montefeltro, 105

N

Naldensis, 158
 Naples, Gaudiosus at, 102, 103
 Narbonne, 158
 Nari, 158
 Nazarius, St., 114
 Nazianzenus, 92
 Nebredius, 82
 Nectarius, 86
 Nervana, 120
 Niridiana, 102. *See also* Nervana
 Nuntius, 108, 113, 126

O

Orosius, Paul, 61, 64, 74-77, 93
 Ostia, 47

P

Pachomius, St., 95
 Padua, 158
 Pagans, 6, 19, 57, 62, 85
 Paliam, 59
 Parthenius, 66
 Pascentius, 17, 18
 Patricius, 1, 43
 Paulinus, St., Bp. of Nola, 64, 69,
 78-80
 Pavia, 160-163
 Pelagians, 18, 19, 57, 60-62, 72,
 73, 76, 122
 Penna Firma, 146
 Perpetua, St., 95
 Peter the Venerable, 62
 Philip Dexter, 131, 138
 Pinian, 67-69, 95
 Piscaria, 158
 Pivioniense, 149
 Poitiers, 96
 Possidius, St., 64, 83-89; 'Life
 of St. Augustine,' ix-38; at
 Tagasta, 52.
 Primiam, 59
 Priscillianists, 73, 75, 77
 Privatus, 64
 Proclianus, 71
 Profuturus, Archbishop of Braza,
 64, 73-75
 Profuturus of Calama, 74

Q

Quodvultdeus, Bishop, 34, 102

R

Radegunda, St., 96
 Ratisbon, 159
 Rebdosense, 159
 Recarred, King, 127
 Renovatus, St., 112-114
 Richard de St. Angelo, Cardinal,
 139
 Rodense, 159
 Roderic, King, 113
 Romanus and companions, 113
 Rome, Alipius at, 65 ; Augustine
 at, 46, 52, 65
 Ruspe, 99, 116, 118

S

Saints, Augustinian, 165 ff.
 Sansadonius, 142
 Saragossa, Council of, 73
 Sardinian houses, 100, 118, 161
 Saturnianus, 97
 Saturninus, St., 119
 Sengham, William, 139
 Seocrus, Bishop, 64
 Servandus and Germanus, SS.,
 150
 Setavitana, 107, 126
 Severinus, St., 104
 Severus, 105
 Sicca, 39
 Siena, 135, 144
 Simplicianus, 48
 Sisle, 110, 111
 Souk-Arhas, 42
 Spain, Hermits in, 106-114
 Spirito, Santo, 154
 Stabula Rhodes, 135
 Suriano, 159

T

Tabessa, 39-41
 Tagasta, 1, 3, 39, 42, 44, 52, 53,
 67, 70, 95, 170 ; Possidius at,
 83
 ' *Te Deum*, ' 51
 Telecta, 39
 Toledo, 106, 110, 112, 148
 Tolentino, 160
 Trabracene, 39, 40 ; martyrs of,
 97-99
 Travistino, 160
 Tubertino, 160

U

Urbanus, Bishop, 64
 Urbevitatum, 160
 Ursus, a procurator, 16

V

Valencia, 119
 Valentine, Emperor, 1
 Valerius, Bishop, 3, 4, 7, 53, 54,
 67
 Vandals, the, 31, 41, 69, 86, 87
 Venice, 97, 129, 144
 Veracundus, 80
 Verona, 155
 Victor of Vita, 75, 90, 91
 Vienna, 105
 Vincentius, St., 114
 Vincent of Lérins, St., 122, 123
 Vindemialis, 92, 93
 Viterbo, 154
 Vivacene, 99, 100, 116
 Volusianus, 95

W

Werden, 96
 Williamites, 131-140
 Wittiza, King, 111, 128

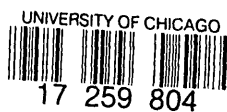
Z

Zosimus, Pope, 19, 61



1248766
Foran
The Augustinians

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| MAR 29 '40 | M. McNeil |
| DEC 8 1943 | DEC 8 1943 |
| AUG 8 1945 | AUG 2 1945 |
| JUL 27 1945 | 1945 1945 |
| MAR 21 1944 | Palmer 1945 |
| | Levy 1945 |
| | R. Conklin |
| | AUG 30 1943 |
| | J. E. Stocess / 3/3 |
| | RENEWAL |
| MAR 10 1947 | B. Kaplan 5455 Alhambra |
| | Carl M. Valenciano |
| | Nicholas Groves |



1
BX2906
F68

1248766